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Bogachev Terms Reagan 'Disrupter' of Treaties

LD031514 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—TASS Military News Analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The real prospect for concluding an effective Soviet-U.S. agreement on complete elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, naturally, draws the attention of analysts and disarmament experts to the question of guarantees of its observance by the two sides within an agreed upon period of time.

In this connection the Soviet Union's and the United States' record in the field of compliance wth the earlier concluded treaties, and the two countries' fundamental approaches to the role of arms control in ensuring the military-political stability in the world are being also thouroughly analysed, of course.

Unfortunately, one has to state that the number of current agreements on arms control has considerably decreased over the past seven years. This occurred by no means through the fault of the Soviet Union.

The present U.S. Administration began its activities in the international arena with declaring the Soviet-U.S. SALT-2 treaty to be basically fallacious.

Later on as soon as the Pentagon's military programmes entered into conflict with the provisions of the treaty, the Reagan administration immediately declared it to be defunct. At the same time Washington finally refused to implement the Interim Agreement on Strategic Arms (SALT-1).

It turned out that the statement by U.S. Undersecretary of Defence Fred Ickel that the United States should observe international treaties for as long as they did not interfere with the implementation of the Pentagon's military programmes quite reliably reflected the Reagan Administration's fundamental attitude towards its treaty obligations.

Ambiguous and in point of fact negative approach by the U.S. side to the limitation and reduction of arms is also evidenced by its attitude towards the treaties on underground nuclear tests and on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Washington declined to ratify these signed agreements, thereby giving rise to legitimate suspicions about aims being pursued.

By having derailed four important arms control agreements over the seven years, the Reagan administration seriously undermined its reputation as a negotiating partner.

The present U.S. Administration's record includes the frustration of the talks on the Indian Ocean, on antisatellite systems, on trade in weapons, and a delay in the resumption of talks on complete and general ban on nuclear tests.

Thus, over the past seven years of the stay in office the present U.S. Administration has repeatedly made attempts at disorganizing the arms control process which was being set up in previous years and which yielded tangible positive results before 1980.

It should be pointed out that the present administration in Washington disrupted the disarmament process not only by fully renouncing the ratified or signed effective agreements but also by undermining the foundations of agreements which still remained in effect.

A graphic example of such destructive actions is provided by the U.S. "Star Wars" programme which envisages a breach of the major provisions of the 1972 Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems.

Yesterday's speech of President Reagan about "violations" by the Soviet Union of its obligations concerning the limitation and reduction of arms is also an example of Washington's cynical attitude towards the concluded agreements.

Some American analysts regard the speech as Reagan's attempt at "reassuring" the conservatives in the United States on the eve of the signing of an agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

There is ground to believe, however, that in this case the United States President primarily hoped by odious means to bolster up his own odious reputation of disrupter of international agreements.

Solton on U.S. 'Claim' of Treaty Violations

LD031553 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] President Reagan has sent a report to the United States Congress, accusing the Soviet Union of violating the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, or the ABM. Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton comments.

The message of the report can give anyone bewilderment. The main question is why the White House has decided to officially repeat its groundless claim to the Soviet Union right on the eve of the Soviet-American summit that will discuss important disarmament problems. It is alleged in the report that the Soviet Union has mobile radars, that they are part of the nation's antimissile defense, and that they violate the ABM Treaty.

To begin with, there is nothing new about inventions of this sort. At a news conference in Washington, General Nikolay Chervov, an executive of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, has recalled that the question was discussed with the Americans back in the early seventies. The only thing that was discussed at the time was the existence of measuring radars, the ones that have nothing to do with antimissile defense. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union decided to dismantle them. It exploded one and stripped the equipment of the other two. The Soviet Union has repeatedly invited the Americans to see with their own eyes that the radars mentioned in the report do not exist. But the Americans refused to do so.

The Krasnoyarsk radar too is mentioned in the presidential report; but it is the Krasnoyarsk radar that American legislators and experts visited last summer to see with their own eyes that nothing that may clash with the ABM Treaty is happening there. Still the Soviet Union set a unilateral moratorium on the activity of any kind there for 12 months.

Presidential aides could not but know these facts. Nevertheless, a report distorting the Soviet stand on ABM was sent to Congress. The Soviet Union intends to press at the forthcoming meeting for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms, with strict observance of the ABM Treaty. This treaty hinders action on the American Star Wars program, which provides for moving weapons to space. In a bid to justify (?speeded) action on the program, the United States could not think of anything better than claim that it is the Soviet Union that is violating the ABM Treaty.

When a White House spokesman, Marvin Fitzwater, was asked by American reporters whether he believed statements of this kind to be appropriate on the eve of the Soviet-American summit, he replied in the affirmative. But we have every reason to doubt that the atmosphere of mistrust of the Soviet Union being whipped up with the participation of high-ranking administration officials can be aimed at making the summit successful.

Levin, Pasko on 'Accusations'

LD032017 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Vladimir Pasko commentary; from the "International Diary" program presented by Viktor Levin]

[Text] [Levin] While throughout the world people are awaiting the summit approvingly, influential forces in the United States have launched a mighty campaign for the purposes of poisoning the political atmosphere of the Soviet-U.S. meeting. Invented reports are being published, various types of fabrications are being spread, the myth about the Soviet military threat is being inflated. All of this is to incite people against the Soviet Union. One of the main objects of the attacks is the treaty, the planned treaty, on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. On Wednesday in Washington there was again talk of certain violations by the Soviet Union of the 1972 ABM Treaty. This time they have accused us of allegedly having mobile radars in operation, in circumvention of the treaty. The false report did not last for long. On that very same day it was refuted by Soviet experts in Washington. As it was said, this question had been under discussion since the beginning of the seventies. They were not radars but measuring stations. Nevertheless, in order not to tease the geese, as they say, they were destroyed. One station was blown up, the other two were dismantled, and the vans which had housed them were handed over to the national economy. This information was confirmed by a statement made today by the USSR Foreign Ministry. The question was, it would seem, exhausted. But here is what attracts attention. It turns out that both the Pentagon and the U.S. State Department knew about the destruction of the stations that had given rise to their suspicions. Why then was it necessary to make a fuss again about certain violations by us, the Soviet Union, of the ABM Treaty, and why is this being done precisely at this moment? I will ask my colleague Vladimir Pasko to answer these questions.

[Pasko] The affirmation that we are purportedly violating the ABM Treaty is being invented to justify the speeding up by the United States of the works connected with the implementation of the so called Strategic Defense Initiative, the policy of starting to deploy [razvertyvaniye] its systems as they are made ready.

But this has nothing to do with the ABM Treaty. As far as the timing of the latest outburst of accusations is concerned, it seems to me it could have been expected. After all, a key question at the forthcoming talks will be the problem of a 50% reduction of strategic offensive armaments with the concomitant preservation and strengthening of the regime of the treaty. In almost the entire world, the fundamental significance of the observance of the ABM Treaty is understood as a guarantee of strategic stability, particularly if there is a cardinal reduction in strategic offensive armaments. An absolute number of states, including the U.S. allies, say they want the treaty preserved. Influential forces in the United States itself, however, are categorically against this. A statement by Kampelman, the head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, was very frank on this score. Speaking a few days ago at a State Department briefing, he declared: At the present moment it makes no sense for us to consider making amendments to the ABM Treaty which would run counter to our interests. The Soviet proposal—in other words, the strengthening of the regime of the treaty—is aimed at limiting our work within the SDI program. As is known, the question of SDI is not a subject for the forthcoming talks in Washington, although the Soviet Union is categorically opposed to the idea of the militarization of space, and calls on the United States to refrain from this. The U.S. leadership does not heed these appeals. In such circumstances we declare that we will not object to work being conducted there, but only to the extent to which it does not run counter to the ABM Treaty. As was declared by Comrade Gorbachev in his interview with the U.S. NBC television company, we will be talking about strict observance of the ABM Treaty at the forthcoming talks. By all accounts, the opposite side does not feel confident that its refusal to strengthen the regime of the treaty will be accepted by the U.S. public. That is why, it must be supposed, the attempt was made to accuse the Soviet Union again of some kind of violation of this exceptionally important accord.

Warnke Says U.S. Charges 'Hold No Water'

LD040708 Moscow TASS in English 0610 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 4 TASS—The "new charges" made by the Reagan administration against the Soviet Union about alleged violations of the ABM Treaty are unfounded. This was stressed at a press conference on Thursday here by Paul Warnke, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, commenting on the report issued by the White House on December 2 on observance by the USSR of the agreements in the field of limitation of arms.

As the prominent American expert noted, he did not see any evidence that the United States has proofs of the appearance in the area of Gomel and Moscow of the so-called radar stations Pawn Shop and Twin Flat. All these charges of violations simply hold no water, Paul Warnke said.

Fitzwater Reiterates 'Broad Interpretation'

LD041022 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Official White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater has said that the administration intends to seek the ratification of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles in its pure form, that is, in the form in which it was signed, without additions or provisos. The agreement, Fitzwater stressed, enjoys broad support both in Congress and among the public, and therefore there is a very great probability that it will be ratified in precisely that form. Speaking about the Administration's position with respect to the ABM Treaty, Fitzwater pointed out that the United States still considers the broad interpretation of the agreement advanced by them to be legally justified. Taking refuge behind this, the Pentagon intends to conduct in space a series of tests in the "Star Wars" program, which are prohibited by the ABM Treaty.

Senate Ratification of INF Treaty Considered

LD032032 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 3 TASS—The discussion of the prospective Soviet-U.S. treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles which is to be signed during the upcoming summit meeting is to begin January 19, the day Congress plans to return from its Christmas recess. According to *The Washington Post*, on that day the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations will open hearings on the treaty. Under the schedule for the treaty, the document is expected to [words indistinct] ratification vote by early March.

Democratic Majority Leader Robert Byrd and other legislators expressed cautious optimism concerning [words indistinct] treaty ratification.

Several senators, however, believed that efforts of opponents of the Soviet-U.S. agreement will be aimed at amending the treaty.

Both the Republicans and Democrats, *The Washington Post* wrote, indicated that "the White House is unlikely to get its wish for ratification of the treaty without reservation or amendment."

Majority-Whip Alan Cranston said that the problem was to fend off amendments that would be unacceptable to the U.S. Administration and the Soviet Union.

Opponents Aim To Amend Treaty

LD040707 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Discussion in the Senate of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the liquidation of medium- and short-range missiles will begin 19 January, on the first day the U.S. Congress resumes work following the Christmas holidays. This agreement should be signed during the forthcoming summit meeting, and should be handed over for ratification to the Senate at the beginning of March. On the subject of prospects for its ratification, a number of senators have expressed the assumption that the main efforts of opponents of the Soviet-U.S. agreement will be aimed at getting various amendments added into it.

Zubok on U.S. Conservative Reaction to Treaty

LD032115 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Why is it that for the first time since 1980, that is the moment when he came to the White House, the most conservative President of the United States in the post-war decades is being criticised by conservatives? The TASS diplomatic correspondent put this question to Vladislav Zubok, an expert from the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"The conservative senators charge that President Ronald Reagan is in too much of a hurry to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on disarmament and in his haste might miss something and give Moscow a chance to find ways of sidestepping the agreements. But considering the unprecedented verification measures agreed upon by the sides this argument is only a pretext to impede Soviet-American accords", Vladislav Zubok said.

"The opponents of a normalisation of Soviet-American relations in the Senate and beyond it are ready to criticise the INF agreement without going to the trouble of trying to understand all its fine points. Such conservative organisations as the American Defense Council, Campaign for Peace From Positions of Strength and Coalition of America now accuse Ronald Reagan almost of treason. [sentence as received] He wants disarmament, they rail. I wonder where they all were in 1980 when during his election campaign Reagan called for advance from the limitation of strategic arms to their reduction", Zubok went on.

"To a certain extent the present upsurge in the opposition's activity is explained also by the fact that many proponents of a 'tough policy' in respect of the USSR have left the Republican administration for various reasons to the accompaniment of the Iran-Contras scandal. Also, after the congressional elections in 1986 some conservatives have found themselves shouldered away from the levers of power. These people are irritated that a Republican President, on whom the right-wingers had pinned big hopes, is obliged in the pursuance of his foreign policy to cooperate with the Democrats, who have a majority in Congress, and with moderate experts".

"As to the Zionist groupings which urge that concessions be demanded from the USSR and threaten to sabotage the disarmament treaties, they risk to repeat their mistake with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act adopted by the U.S. Congress in 1974. It is obvious today that this amendment, which linked the state of Soviet-American economic cooperation with the number of Jews leaving the Soviet Union, inflicted damage to detente but did not influence in any way the solution of the so called problem of 'refuseniks'. Today a growing number of congressmen, among them conservatives, are regarding the Jackson-Vanik amendment as a vexing impediment to the development of Soviet-American business partnership", Vladislav Zubok said in conclusion.

U.S. Plans for 'Militarization' of Space Noted

LD031855 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 3 Dec 87

["USA Plans for Space Militarisation"—TASS headline]

[Text] New York December 3 TASS—Four U.S. companies have secured government contracts for the construction of a space orbital station. An announcement to this effect has been made by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). As the newspaper *New York Times* said, the corporations Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric and Rockwell International will take up the practical implementation of the American project, the last in this century, providing for the launching of manned space craft. According to the NASA plans, a manned space complex is to be put into a near-earth orbit by the mid-nineties.

It was believed from the very outset that a number of European nations, as well as Canada and Japan, will be invited to participate in the implementation of the project which may cost, according to some estimates, 30 billion dollars. Yet no specific decisions has been so far taken on that issue. The point is that the Pentagon assigns a special role to the orbital station in its Star Wars plans. The U.S. Defense Department insists that the USA should press ahead at the talks with its allies for being given the unlimited right to use that station with military aims.

The journal also said that the Pentagon organization for the implementation of the Strategic Defense Initiative is planning to create a new missile for putting into a near-earth orbit a war laser plant "Zenith Star" which is to be deployed, after testing, at the initial stage of implementation of SDI.

The U.S. plans for the militarisation of outer space run counter to the interests of the whole world community. This is borne out by the adoption at the U.N. General Assembly on Wednesday of a resolution on international cooperation in peaceful uses of outer space. The document urges all states, especially those with a big outer space potential, to contribute actively towards preventing the weapons race in outer space as an important precondition for promoting international cooperation for outer space exploration and peaceful uses of space. The resolution stresses the humanity's common interest in a peaceful study and uses of outer space, in establishing a corresponding legal procedure, including work on drawing up outer space law.

The U.N. General Assembly has instructed the U.N. committee for the peaceful uses of outer space to carry on the examination of the question on preserving peaceful outer space.

Latest Round of Vienna Arms Talks Ends

LD040856 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] The latest round of talks on mutual reductions of armed forces and weapons in Central Europe has ended in Vienna. Representatives of delegations of Poland and the United States spoke at the plenary session. The next round of talks is planned for the end of January 1988.

USSR's Kashlev on Status of Vienna CSCE Talks

PM041245 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA's Own correspondent S. Tosunyan article: "Vienna Barometer of Hope"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—The Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE participant-states is continuing work in the Austrian capital. It is called upon to continue joint efforts to seek new ways to achieve detente, raise the detente process to a qualitatively new level, and draw up recommendations to develop cooperation between countries in the security, political, economic, and humanitarian spheres.

Let us take a look at what has been achieved to date. The most significant progress was made at the Stockholm Conference, where the sides agreed not to use force or the threat of force, which is a very important political confidence-building measure. The scope of confidence-building measures has been considerably expanded in comparison to that of the Helsinki Final Act and now extends to the whole of Europe, as well as adjacent sea and air space. Members of the all-European conference now inform one another on their military activity and invite foreign observers to exercises. The Vienna meeting is developing more effective, universal measures to preserve European security.

The socialist countries consistently endeavor to develop the entire complex of economic ties with Western partners and solve problems concerning humanitarian cooperation.

The barometer of the Vienna meeting reacts accurately to warmth and cold in international relations. How does it read at the moment? I asked several participants in the forum to comment on the situation there.

Envoy Yu. B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation:

"The attention of all the participants in the Vienna meeting is riveted on the forthcoming Soviet-American dialogue in Washington. Many believe that, although the agreement to eliminate medium-range and short-range nuclear missiles will be signed by the leaders of two powers, it is really an international agreement. After all, these nuclear weapons are to be removed from the territory of nine states in all. This cannot fail to make the political climate in the world warmer as a whole.

"From the very beginning of the forum Western countries have tried to move military-political problems into the background and isolate them from the all-European process, which has greatly delayed our work. The West submitted a proposal on these issues only at the end of July. Now certain results have been achieved. A mandate for new talks in the future to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals is being discussed as part of the consultations between the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries in progress in Vienna. We have managed to agree that these talks will begin in 1988. Some elements of the mandate for the future talks have also been agreed upon. Austria has proposed that the new stage of talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms be held here, in Vienna.

"As a whole, the Vienna meeting is concerned with the difficult search for compromise solutions. Socialist countries have submitted a whole series of proposals for the forum to consider. One of the Soviet initiatives—to hold a conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow—initially shocked some Western delegations. They even accused us of allegedly holding back the discussion of humanitarian issues, when we had just proposed a special conference in our capital. Now, however, the problems to be discussed at this conference are being clarified. It has been suggested that a permanent mechanism of cooperation and consultation between states in the human rights sphere and the humanitarian sphere generally be established." [passage omitted]

Further on International Rights Commission

Moscow TV Shows News Conference

LD032358 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2145 GMT 3 Dec 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A press conference has been held in the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs by representatives of the recently created Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

The new commission, stated its members, will distribute among the foreign public information on the situation in the humanitarian sphere and on ensuring citizens' rights and freedoms in Soviet society. It will engage in comparative research into implementation by the USSR and other participant states in the Helsinki Process of the provisions of the Final Act, and will participate in working out a conception of international cooperation in the sphere of humanitarian contacts and human rights. The members of the commission noted that they are preparing to take part in devising recommendations for refining Soviet legislation and administrative rules in line with the requirements of restructuring, democracy and glasnost.

Replying to questions from journalists, the representatives of the Soviet public resolutely refuted all attempts from without to put pressure on the Soviet Union in finding solutions to any questions. The commission will also prepare publications in Russian and in foreign languages, organize roundtables and seek new forms of work.

Role: 'Opposing' Conservatism

LD032222 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—We should be striving not for the exchange of mutual reproaches and recriminations, but for the quest of mutual understanding among the nations, between the East and the West, said prominent Belorussian writer Ales Adamovich. He spoke today at a meeting of constitutors of the Public Commission of the Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights formed at the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation with Soviet and foreign journalists.

It is a constructive, not a destructive approach that is needed in considering topical humanitarian problems. What is lacking at times is the wish to understand each other, to give up the conviction that only oneself is right, while all the others are in the wrong. The role and importance of our commission is in opposing the conservative forces, the forces that neither accept, nor understand the new tendencies.

Some Western journalists tried to reduce the problem of human rights to the problem of exit from the USSR, to the situation of persons of the Jewish nationality in the USSR, to the theme of "political prisoners". Answering these questions, Chief Rabbi of the Moscow Synagogue Adolf Shayevich said that "there are more invented than real things in the Jewish problem that is constantly rehashed in the West. In the eight years I have been rabbi of the synagogue there was not a single case when anybody would tell me that he was going to emigrate because of persecution on religious grounds."

The question of political prisoners is topical for many countries, said Doctor of Law Boris Krylov. For instance, thousands of people in the USA have been convicted for their part in peace rallies. But the U.S. authorities say that they were punished not at all for their political convictions, but, allegedly, for the breach of order... Boris Krylov said that there are persons in the USSR who have been sentenced under Article 70 of the Criminal Code which envisages the responsibility for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. "As far as I know, their number at present is not more than 20", the Soviet jurist said. "Many of those earlier convicted have been pardoned by the Supreme Soviet".

It was noted at the meeting that it is only persons who know state secrets that are denied the permission to leave the country. Naturally, it is not only in the Soviet Union that military and industrial information is guarded. This is a widely used practice in Western countries. It was said also that the pall of secrecy between the East and the West will be dispelled if humanity takes the road of disarmament. The Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, envisaging broad measures of verification will give an impetus to this.

In answer to questions of journalists about Academician Andrey Sakharov, it was said that he is now engaged in active scientific work, has an opportunity to freely state his views and appears in the Soviet press.

Refutes Emigration Figures

LD032354 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] There has been a news conference at the Foreign Ministry's press center here in Moscow for Soviet and foreign newsmen, members of a public commission for international cooperation on humanitarian issues and human rights. The commission was set up recently at the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The news conference was attended by a vice chairman of the commission, Venyamin Yakovlev, who is in charge of the Institute on Soviet Legislation; Doctor of Law, Boris Krylov; writer Aleks Adamovich; the chief rabbi of the Moscow Synagogue, Adolf Shayevich; and a Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh.

Asked whether the commission will cooperate with the persons referred to in the West as Soviet dissidents, Venyamin Yakovlev noted that members of the commission would maintain contact with all those who sincerely wished to upholhd human rights, but will have nothing in common, Yakovlev said, with those who want to use the commission for agitation with speculative goals.

It was also noted at the conference that members of the public commission had no bias against the organization Amnesty International. If they demonstrate goodwill we are ready to cooperate with them. However, these should be genuine businesslike contacts and not an attempt to use us in order to promote anti-Sovietism in the world.

Addressing the news conference the chief rabbi of the Moscow Synagogue, Adolf Shayevich, refuted Western allegations about the persecution of Jews in the USSR. He explained that over 8 years in office as chief rabbi he had never been approached with a complaint about persecution for religious views. Nor had anyone intended to emigrate from the USSR for this reason.

Some journalists asked whether a report that 400,000 Soviet Jews wanted to emigrate from the USSR was true.

Yuriy Gremitskikh dismissed the figure as totally invented in Israel, from which a great many letters with invitations to live in that country have been sent to various addresses in the USSR. Many of those who have received these messages have voiced dismay and anger at Zionists' attempts to make them leave their homeland. The absurdity of this figure was also borne out by the fact that initially the United States also tried to claim it was a true figure, but then it had realized how phoney it was and had begun to talk about 10,000. I think, Gremitskikh said, this figure will disappear too.

Answering questions about Academician Andrey Sakharov, writer Aleks Adamovich called the sending of Dr Sakharov for work and residence to Gorkiy as a mistake of the stagnation period in the USSR. For his part Yuriy Gremitskikh noted that at some stages Dr Sakharov did not behave fairly as a citizen. However, Gremitskikh continued, today there is no need to whip up a campaign over Dr Sakharov, who has been doing scientific research vigorously and has been often expressing his views on various issues in the Soviet press. More than that, he quite often asks newsmen not to distract him from scientific work.

Ogurtsov Calls on West To Support Reform

LD022004 Hamburg DPA in German 1322 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Munich (DPA)—In spite of perestroyka and glasnost "fighters for democracy" are still inside Soviet prisons, according to the Soviet civil rights activist Igor Ogurtsov. Ogurtsov, who was released in February after 20 years of imprisonment for "treason," arrived in Munich on Wednesday via Moscow and Vienna.

He said at an event organized by the International Society for Human Rights that the Democratization process in the Soviet Union is "very contradictory, almost paradoxical," the process of liberation "very slow." Approximately 1,000 people are in political camps in the Soviet Union suffering under exceedingly bad conditions of imprisonment.

Opponents of perestroyka, who feared that the attempts at reform would call the totalitarian system into question and were the result of a general crisis in the system, are in power everywhere. There is now no guarantee that perestroyka will succeed. "It can be stopped at any time." At the moment there is no threat of state repression, "but the laws are the same as before."

In support of the efforts, Ogurtsov appealed to the West to support every step by the CPSU leadership which might lead to the restoration of a bourgeois social structure. Ogurtsov called on the free world and above all on the members of the CSCE review conferences "not to forget the political fighters in Soviet prisons." After 30 years of struggle for human rights, the West has recognized the importance of these efforts and understands that they cannot be separated from the preservation of peace. This path must be continued consistently, courageously, and without deviation, said Ogurtsov, who founded the "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People," which existed underground in Leningrad from 1964 to 1967.

U.S. Charges on SDI, ABM Issues Rebutted

PM031639 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondents A. Blinov, L. Koryavin, and A. Shalnev dispatch: "On the Eve of an Important Dialogue"]

[Text] Washington—Only a few days remain until the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. Editorials and analytical articles in the press and television commentaries are devoted to it.

M.S. Gorbachev, who will be paying his first visit to the United States, will not be someone unknown to Americans, *The New York Times* notes in an editorial. They recently had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the views of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, outlined by him in the book *Perestroyka*. An interview with M.S. Gorbachev was carried on nationwide television by NBC-TV.

This interview, the article says, was a convincing display of glasnost and openness. It was not simply a matter of words or gestures to be reviewed by "theater critics" in the political sphere. It reflects the substantial changes in Soviet society and the improvements in Soviet people's life, and gives food for a serious analysis of Soviet foreign policy initiatives. The capital's newspaper, *The Washington Post*, noted that the Soviet leader's conversation with the U.S. journalist stood out for its "warmth and confidence," and the basic impression it left was that "the Soviet leader wants success at the summit meeting."

Unfortunately, the atmosphere in the U.S. capital is also marked by statements of a different kind. Some candidates for the Republican Party presidential nomination failed to match up to the situation. Appearing in front of television cameras, they displayed neither the ability nor the willingness to assess on merit the importance of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and the need for specific steps along the path of disarmament. Some of them perceived in the plans to destroy medium- and shorter-range missiles the threat of the emergence of an "imbalance of forces" and of the boosting of the Soviet Union's "superiority" in conventional arms.

The attacks by conservatives are complicating the political climate in the U.S. capital. "Sensations" aimed at undermining trust, which is an important condition for a productive Soviet-U.S. dialogue, are appearing one after another.

These sensations burst like soap bubbles literally before the very eyes of U.S. and foreign journalists attending the first press conference by the Soviet press group for the forthcoming summit meeting and eminent Soviet experts.

Replying to a question by a U.S. journalist on the existence of a supposed Soviet "space strategic defense," Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, cited an extract from M.S. Gorbachev's interview. "Everything is clear here," Ye. Velikhov said. "Any claims that the USSR has an antimissile space program are groundless. The Soviet Union announced a unilateral moratorium on tests of antisatellite weapons. Any research work we are conducting is strictly in conformity with the 1972 ABM Treaty. As regards the space-based echelon of SDI, we do not believe that its creation [sozdaniye] will lead to positive changes in the strategic balance. Since this is banned by the ABM Treaty, we are not working on it. But if the United States fails to heed our advice, the necessary answer will be found. It will work out tens and hundreds of times cheaper. I am talking about measures to which we may resort should SDI be deployed. These will be substantial and effective means, but we do not intend to deploy or test them as long as there are no space arms in the U.S. arsenal."

"We have available all the initial data which will be required when the treaty is concluded and are prepared to transfer them on a reciprocal basis," Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of a directorate at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, stated in reply to another question. "A number of items of information requested by the U.S. delegation has just been handed to it in Geneva. Any claims that we are 'keeping back' something are groundless."

Refuting U.S. Department of State claims that the USSR has supposedly transferred radar installations banned by the ABM Treaty to other regions, N.F. Chervov said:

"When the question of the future of radars was raised at a session of the Consultative Commission for Monitoring the Observance of the ABM Treaty, we showed the U.S. delegation photographs of the trucks and expressed readiness to organize a visit on the spot. The question was closed. Suddenly, we have been accused of violating the ABM Treaty. This is, to say the least, absurd."

V.M. Falin, chairman of the *Novosti Press Agency* Board, reminded those present that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries have already put forward on three occasions proposals aimed at the reduction of conventional arms.

"How do you view the leveling of accusations against the Soviet side, and could they poison the atmosphere at the forthcoming summit meeting?"

"All this is a reflection of the state of Soviet-U.S. relations," A.I. Vlasov, head of the Soviet press group at the forthcoming meeting, said. "But I believe that this will have no substantial effect on the atmosphere at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting. I can assure you that the forthcoming conversation will be frank and honest."

Moscow TV Reports 'Experts' News Conference

LD040046 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 3 Dec 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by B. Kalyagin]

[Text] [Kalyagin] The first news conference by experts in the Soviet delegation for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting has been held in the National Press Club in Washington. Taking part in the press conference were: Vlasov, head of the Soviet press group; Velkihov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Falin, chairman of the Board of the *Novosti Press Agency*; and Colonel General Chervov, head of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. [video shows six men on the platform, from left to right, Chervov, unidentified person, Falin, Vlasov, unidentified person, Velikhov, and journalists in the hall]

Opening the news conference, Comrade Vlasov said:

[Begin Vlasov recording] We all consider that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's interview for the NBC television corporation is an invitation to a frank [otkrovennyy] and honest dialogue between the USSR and the United States, an invitation to overcome confrontation and recognition of a new evaluation of the situation in the contemporary workd, an evaluation of the world as a diverse, but, as a whole, interrelated world. We consider that it is also an invitation to seek agreement and not differences of opinion. This line was pursued in Geneva and Reykjavik, which, as a whole, contributed toward imparting a dynamic character to contemporary politics. Finally, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's interview testifies to the need to move in the direction of solving practical matters and of making specific decisions. Of course, we understand, probably, just as you do, that great undertakings, particularly on such difficult issues as international politics and nuclear disarmament, cannot fail to have difficulties, cannot avoid difficulties. But we consider these surmountable, if an atmosphere of trust and cooperation is created between our sides. [end recording]

[Kalyagin] Those taking part in the news conference were then asked questions. [Kalyagin reads question]: The Reagan administration has accused the USSR of violating the ABM Treaty in connection with the relocation of two radar installations. Could you respond to that accusation and say if it will have an influence on the forthcoming meeting?

[Begin Chervov recording] At the Sary-Shagan test range the Soviet Union had three instrumentation radar stations. They had been in existence since the start of the 1970's. The U.S. side at the Soviet-U.S. Standing Consultative Commission expressed concern that these instrumentation radar stations are allegedly mobile ABM radar stations. According to the ABM Treaty, mobile radar stations are prohibited. In order to remove the concern of the U.S. side we blew up one instrumentation radar station in Sary-Shagan, and dismantled the two others. The motor vans from these dismantled instrumentation stations were handed over to the national economy, and these motor vans are at present in the Gomel area and in the Moscow area.

At the session of the Standing Consultative Commission that has just ended, what I have just reported to you was told in detail and cogently to the U.S. side. Photographs of the dismantled motor vans were displayed. This issue had in fact been exhausted. But nevertheless, showing good will and in order to strengthen trust with the U.S. side, the USSR expressed agreement to give an onsite display of the dismantled instrumentation radar stations, that is, to display the empty motor vans which we have in the Gomel and Moscow areas.

We invited the Americans to come and have a look either in Gomel or in Moscow. The U.S. side stated that it would like to have a look at the vans both near Gomel and near Moscow. We agreed. This inspection will take place within the next few days. Therefore, I was simply amazed when I read in *The Washington Post* a report about unconfirmed information, about unconfirmed data which in fact the U.S. Administration, the Pentagon, and the State Department know about very well. [end recording]

[Kalyagin reads question] In his interview General Secretary Gorbachev stated that the USSR had a defensive military doctrine. But how can we believe this when in the same interview he said that the USSR has, on an on-going basis, been engaged in doing what it has accused the United States of doing—in particular that it had been conducting research into its equivalent of the Strategic Defense Initiative which is called Space Strategic Defense. The USSR has launched a satellite within the framework of a system of antisatellite weapons. Other technologies are being developed [razrabotka] including lasers, and microwaves. Is this in accord with the statement about a defensive doctrine?

[Begin Velikhov recording] I would like to quote something here as we are discussing what the general secretary of the Communist Party stated. He said that we are doing virtually everything that the United States is doing. Very likely we are engaged in research, basic research which also relates to those aspects which are covered by SDI research in the United States. But we will not build [sozdavat] SDI, we will not deploy [razvorachivat] SDI and we call on the United States to act similarly.

First of all I would like to point out some facts. Since August 1983 the USSR has unilaterally not carried out any tests, and what is more, has not put into space any weapons and has not tested any weapons against space targets. Thus, the first (?part) of the question which asserted that the USSR has an antisatellite system is incorrect. The second part of the question concerns the fact that we are engaged in research on a system of antimissile defense. The work that we are engaged in is fully within the framework of the 1972 treaty on antimissile defense. As far as concerns the space echelon of strategic defense, we do not consider that this will really lead, as I have already said, to any positive progress in the strategic balance and at the same time in so far as tests—development [razrabotka] and tests and even more so the deployment [razvertyvaniye]—of such systems is forbidden by the ABM Treaty, we are strictly observing this treaty, too.

Further, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev says that if the Americans fail to heed our advice then we will find a response that will be 10 or a 100 times cheaper. It must be said that we are referring here to countermeasures if there really is deployment [razvorachivaniye] of the space echelon. We have always said openly both in the press and in speeches that such work is really considerably more effective than the deployment [razvertyvaniye] of strategic defence, itself. At the same time we do not intend, we are not deploying [razvorachivat] and we are not testing, and we do not intend to test these means until some real means appear in the U.S. arsenal. [end recording]

[Kalyagin reads question] Can one expect any changes on the question of human rights in the USSR during the summit meeting? Can one expect that some of the so-called refuseniks will be able to leave the USSR during and after the summit meeting?

[Begin Falin recording] I assume you are proceeding from the point that the Soviet side has something to say about what the practice is in the United States in the sphere of human rights. As far as the departure of the so-called "refuseniks" is concerned, this question has been worked on before the meeting; it will continue to be worked on during the meeting and will certainly be worked on after the meeting in accordance with Soviet laws as provided for by the Helsinki Final Act. The Helsinki Final Act, I should like to stress, says clearly that all such questions must be solved on the basis of the internal legislation of the corresponding countries. Overall, our policy on this question is well-disposed with regard to satisfying the requests of individual citizens who for various reasons want to leave the Soviet Union and take up permanent residence in other countries.

[Unidentified correspondent in Russian] May I please go back to the question of the protection of human rights, a problem which concerns every one of us seated in this hall. It seems to me than an important part of this problem is putting an end to terrorism on aircraft. Will this problem be discussed during the summit meeting? As everyone knows, the United States shows great concern over this problem, yet at the same time residing in Los Angelos, for example, are the Brazinskas father and son who hijacked a Soviet aircraft, killed the stewardess and wounded several members of the crew. Despite all the demands made by the family of the stewardess who was killed and by Soviet public and state organizations, the United States not only categorically refuses to extradite them to the Soviet Union for trial, but does not want to discuss the question at all.

[Falin] Among other questions on human right, our side may raise that concrete, sore issue which has remained unsolved for so many years.

[Unidentified correspondent in Russian] Comrade Chervov, with regard to strategic offensive weapons there has been discussion about a 50% reduction. What disagreements are there in this area, or in what areas do the views of both states coincide? What are the most important problems there?

[Chervov] A unified treaty has now been put together on a reduction in strategic offensive arms. Unfortunately, the considerably larger part of that treaty is in brackets: In other words there are disagreements. What are the things that have been agreed upon? The overall level of reduction of 1,600 delivery vehicles and 6,000 warheads—up to that level. We have come considerably closer together on the component sublevels of strategic arms within the overall volume of reductions. That happened after Gorbachev put forward new proposals on the sublevels for strategic components. What are the basic disagreements? The U.S. side is demanding that there be no linkage, no interrelationship, between offensive and defensive strategic arms—in other words between strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty. The U.S. side is demanding a ban on mobile ICBM's because they are allegedly difficult to monitor. Yet at the same time the U.S. side is demanding that sea-based cruise missiles not be included in the strategic arms because they too are allegedly difficult to monitor for the same reason. Here there is a contradiction in the U.S. position. On one hand the U.S. side says that something should be banned because it cannot be monitored, and on the other hand that cruise missiles, because they cannot be monitored, should be permitted. Those are the principal differences. There are others, but my opinion is that given the desire, given the political will on the part of both sides, those differences can be overcome, and the key propositions in the strategic offensive arms treaty could be achieved at the general secretary's meeting with President Reagan. [end recording]

[Kalyagin] The participants in the press conference answered other questions put by the journalists gathered there.

Conventional Weapons Addressed

LD040316 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 3 Dec 87

["Highlights" of a news conference held in advance of the Soviet-U.S. summit by "group of Soviet experts" at the National Press Club in Washington on 1 December, presented by correspondents Spartak Alekseyev and Mikhail Taratuta—with recorded comments by Albert Vlasov, head of the Soviet Press Club; General Nikolay Chervov of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff; Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov; and Novosti chief Valentin Falin]

[Text] [First correspondent] The leader of the Soviet

Press Club, Albert Vlasov, opened the conference by describing Mikhail Gorbachev's recent appearance on American television as a frank invitation to a frank dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States. And he went on to say:

[Begin Vlasov recording in Russian, fading to English translation by second correspondent] This is an invitation to overcome the confrontation and an admission of a new approach to the situation in the present day world, a world in which the great variety of parts are interrelated. It's an invitation to strive for agreement instead of disagreement. it's an invitation to achieve a breakthrough, as well, in the psychology of confrontation. [end recording]

[First correspondent] In view of the latest charge of the American Administration that the Soviet Union has been violating the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, General Nikolay Chervov of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces said this:

[Begin Chervov recording in Russian, fading to English translation by second correspondent] Back at the beginning of the seventies, the Soviet Union had three radar stations at the Sary-Shagan test site. When the American side voiced concern a short while ago that these stations were intended for an antiballistic missile system and pointed out that mobile stations were banned by the treaty we did away with them. One was blown up and the other two were dismantled. Only the vans remain. One of these is near the city of Gomel, the other near Moscow. We have given the American side detailed information about these stations and shown them photographs of the vans. And, since the American experts wish to see what is left of the dismantled stations we have even invited them to do so. The inspection will be taken place shortly. [end recording]

[First correspondent] General Chervov voiced great surprise that the United States was leveling accusations at the Soviet Union, even though it had all this information. One of the most controversial topics at the news conference was whether the Soviet Union was creating its own SDI. Some of the newsmen had put this interpretation on a statement that Mikhail Gorbachev made during the interview with NBC television. Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov told the conference this was an obvious misinterpretation.

[Begin Velikhov recording in Russian, fading to English translation by second correspondent] We have no intention of developing a Strategic Defense Initiative or of deploying one, and we urge America to act in the same way. Since August 1983 the Soviet Union has unilaterally refrained from tests of weapons directed against objects in space and has not put any such weapons in space. [end recording]

[First correspondent] Academician Velikhov explained that Mikhail Gorbachev had meant only that countermeasures would be taken if the United States did begin deploying a space-based echelon as part of its military arsenal, and the cost of the countermeasures would be 10 times, and even 100 times less than the cost of SDI. One of the newsmen asked why the Soviet Union was trying to prevent the development of America's SDI if it could neutralize it without spending much money. Why didn't the Soviet Union push the United States toward such a colossal outlay of money?

Academician Velikhov explained that the Soviet Union did not see the development of new weapons as a gain, and its purpose was not to bankrupt the United States but to make world peace stable. Another question concerned the alleged imbalance of conventional weapons in favor of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Was the general secretary bringing any proposals to reduce them? The head of the *Novosti Press Agency*, Valentin Falin, gave this comment:

[Begin Falin recording in Russian, fading to English trnslation by second correspondent] First of all, Mikhail Gorbachev will be bringing a reminder that at least three proposals on this matter have been left unanswered by the West, by NATO and the United States. A proposal to balance the two sides has had no reply for a year and 9 months. A proposal of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to effect considerable cuts in the armed forces and weapons in Europe by the beginning of the nineties has had no reply for a year and 5 months, and a proposal of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to scale down conventional weapons to a level that will make it impossible for any countries to carry on offensive operations against another country has had no reply for 1 year. [end recording]

[Second correspondent] Valentin Falin also pointed out that either the present situatin represents a balance and the United States and its allies see no need for changes, or all the talk about the Warsaw Treaty countries having superiority in conventional arms is a pretext which the United States needs to maintain a negative climate in relations.

In answer to other questions, the Soviet experts confirmed that both the United States and the Soviet Union have raised the issue of human rights and this will be a topic of discussion at the summit. General Secretary Gorbachev, they said, also intends, as he said in his interview with NBC television, to discuss with the President the settlement of the problems involving Afghanistan.

Korzin Discusses 'Confusing Issues'

LD032230 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 3 Dec 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Excerpts] [Korzin] However, there are, of course forces, which would like, if not to wreck, then to hamper and complicate the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty. This is a matter of confusing the issues, as they say. In particular, reports appeared recently, for example, that the Soviet side was allegedly precisely now, at the last moment almost turning down the proposal—that we are allegedly altering our position.

So, a news conference of the experts of the Soviet delegation took place in Washington today. It has been stressed once again and proven on concrete examples that our position remains unchanged, that we firmly adhere to our word. [passage omitted]

The reproaches addressed to us are completely groundless. All divergencies which so far exist can be overcome, given the political will and resoluteness on both sides.

This is the main conclusion which proceeds from the today's news conference of the experts of the Soviet delegation.

Shishlin, Aganbegyan Discuss Restructuring

LD040838 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Washington Decembr 4 TASS—A news conference in the National Press Club in Washington Thursday dealt with the process of perestroyka, or restructuring, under way in the Soviet Union.

The press briefs included Nikolay Shishlin, a deputy head of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee [Moscow TASS in English at 0729 GMT on 4 December transmits a corrected version of this item in which Shishlin's title is given instead as "senior official of the CPSU Central Committee"], Academician Abel Aganbegyan, secretary of the economics department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Stepan Sitaryan, a first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

"Perestroyka is a process affecting every aspect of life in Soviet society. The strategic line for the nation's development is now clear and time has come to translate it into reality," Shishlin said.

Academician Aganbegyan said the first two years of perestroyka had already brought positive results, including faster housing construction and increased agricultural output.

"The aim is to make a leap forward in the next two years so that every Soviet family will be able to see for itself that perestroyks is yielding fruit."

Answering a question about the relationship between possible progress in arms control and economic change in the USSR, Sitaryan said: "There is no doubt that success in arms control would make it possible to release further resources for social development needs."

At another point in the news conference he noted the obviously too low level of trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. "In our opinion," he said, "there are considerable possibilities not only to activate the traditional forms of trade between our countries, but also to promote broader cooperative economic arrangements, including joint ventures."

Sakharov Cited on 'New Political Climate'

LD031823 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 3 Dec 87

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—The INF agreement is an event of immense political, military and psychological significance which effectively diminishes the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind, the latest edition of the weekly *Moscow News* quoted Academician Andrey Sakharov as saying.

"The sides have agreed to truly effective mutual verification. This is a reflection of the new mode of thinking. It is extremely important that the breakthrough be continued and broadened," Sakharov said.

"An agreement on reducing strategic nuclear forces—missiles and other intercontinental delivery vehicles—should be the next step. This agreement can be reached, irrespective of problems of anti-ballistic missile defence and any other political or military problems.

This conviction rests on the generally recognized view of SDI as being vulnerable and of little effectiveness for the foreseeable future.

The 50-per cent reduction of the intercontinental nuclear forces under any conditions will not disrupt strategic equilibrium. At the same time, along with the INF treaty, it will create an absolutely new psychological and political climate for further advancement towards a safer and fairer world, for resolving regional conflicts in an atmosphere of greater trust and for promoting the cause of nuclear disarmament," Sakharov pointed out.

"Mutually acceptable solutions to the problem of limiting anti-ballistic missile defences and research into new military technology under conditions of reciprocal verification, balance and reduction of conventional arms, political and military measures promoting mutual security and trust and greater openness of society constitute a precondition for deeper (more than 50 per cent) reductions in nuclear arms."

Sakharov named the establishment of totally demilitarized corridors in Europe and other regions among the political and military measures required.

Sakharov believed that the earliest solution of the Afghan problem and release and exoneration of all people convicted for their views were urgent problems facing the Soviet Union.

The academician thought it was possible and necessary to carry out a bold step on the part of the Soviet Union—to reduce unilaterally the length of service in the Army, Navy and Air Force with the simultaneous reduction of all types of weapons.

"The means to be released thanks to disarmament in the world, the Soviet Union included, will make it possible to handle urgent social, economic and ecological tasks on a national and international scale," he pointed out.

"Disarmament for the USSR, along with democracy, openness and removal of dogmatism and stagnation from all spheres of life—economic and social and the one related to personnel—constitute a major integral part of restructuring, a source of its strength."

"In the general historical sense, it is possible to save mankind from thermonuclear and ecological self-annihilation," Sakharov observed.

"This can only be achieved through profound changes towards openness of society, observance of human rights, convergence of the capitalist and socialist systems with rejection of prejudice, dogmatism [word indistinct] [remainder of item not received]

PRAVDA Notes Diversity of U.S. Views

PM031453 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondents Ye. Grigoryev, T. Kolesnichenko, and V. Sukhoy dispatch under the rubric "On the Eve of the Meeting in Washington": "American Perspectives"]

[Text] Washington—As far as the Americans are concerned, the"hottest" news at the moment comes from the Soviet Union. The reports are even assembled under a single rubric with a title which translates as "Lead News." There was extensive coverage, for instance, of the landing of the "Russian advance party"—the arrival in the U.S. capital of dozens of journalists from the USSR to cover the Soviet-U.S. summit. However, the main attention here centered on a broadcast from Moscow—the 1-hour interview given by M.S. Gorbachev to NBC correspondent T. Brokaw.

It was not just that U.S. television networks had long vied for the right to an interview. Having "lost out" to NBC, *The Washington Post* writes, the competitors began jostling for an advance look at the remarks of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. All this is understandable. What was heard from Moscow was a direct, frank conversation whose point was the need to find mutually acceptable solutions to fundamental problems in Soviet-U.S. relations and especially to the main problem—nuclear disarmament. The Americans heard firsthand that the Soviet Union proceeds from the policy of new thinking, which rules out any intention to deceive, to snatch, to gain something for itself. "I have never heard leaders of other states speak so frankly," B. Slender, a Georgetown University student, told us.

B. King, a 57-year-old professor at the Duke University Medical Center, described his impressions as follows: "The interview was pervaded by common sense. I think the Soviet leader was very persuasive. He inspires trust, he can be relied on."

This thought is exceptionally important. A feeling of trust, a feeling of confidence that you will not be deceived or let down is necessary on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. talks, which will discuss problems on which the two countries' security largely depends. What is happening in our country has become for the Americans a kind of touchstone on which they test their attitude toward Soviet policy. This is why today's remarks in *The Washington Post* sound so absolutely out of the ordinary but also very timely. Citing M.S. Gorbachev's remark that "we have created a new atmosphere in the country, an atmosphere of glasnost and openness, and we plan to further advance the process of democratization and glasnost," T. Shales, a recognized specialist in the sphere of the mass media, writes in the newspaper: "When you hear these words from Gorbachev, you immediately sense their genuineness." T. Shales believes that after such an interview cynicism "is out of place." "We are looking for grounds for hope. Here they are!" the author declares.

It is impossible to disagree with this. This is the impression which we gained from most of our contacts with Americans. However, the picture would be incomplete if we did not mention the following. We rang up an organization whose title speaks for itself—"Committee on the Present Danger." This is how they responded to our call: "Present Danger speaking..."

"We would like to meet with you to learn your views on the upcoming summit talks."

The answer came from the other end of the line: "A meeting is not possible. The committee is having its annual conference. Everyone will be very busy. We did not expect the talks to take place..."

We did not dial this number by chance. We have been following the activities of the gentlemen on this committee for a long time. In late 1979 they played virtually the main role in the massive attacks on SALT II, after which it emerged that its ratification would not take place. Now, when certain senators have stooped to leveling obscene abuse at the Soviet system (Senator S. Simms, for instance), there are no grounds for saying that the views of those who lead the United States are unequivocal.

We were writing this dispatch as the television debates between Democratic and Republican Party presidential hopefuls were ending. Much has been said and written about the U.S. elections. It is well-known what a high price people aspiring to the White House seat are prepared to pay for a dozen extra votes. Sometimes everything is sacrificed on the altar of His Majesty Success—objectivity, common sense, prudence, and even decency. We expected that people who aspire to the highest post in the United States would be able to rise above short-term interests, take a broad view of the upcoming Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington, and make a realistic assessment of the future treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. Alas, the Republicans, with the possible exception of G. Bush, did not adopt this approach.

We in no way want to cast aspersions on the important domestic political processes which take place in the United States on the eve of every presidential election, but on the other hand, it is not possible either to view global world problems exclusively through the prism of election campaigns. Delivering mankind from the burden of nuclear missile arms is the paramount problem of our times. You cannot brush it aside by taking refuge in rhetoric designed to appeal to philistine prejudices to the effect that "it is necessary to force the Soviet Union to implement past accords before signing new ones with it." Incidentally, when it comes to noncompliance with earlier treaties, this applies above all to the United States itself. Let us just recall the SALT II and ABM Treaties and other important agreements. Genuine objectivity here would certainly not come amiss.

Day-to-day life in such a vast country as the United States is made up of contradictions. All kinds of things can be perceived in this mosaic. There is much that is conservative and overtly hostile to the new approaches to international affairs and Soviet-U.S. relations, as we have already mentioned. But there are also positive, sensible things which bear the imprint of common sense, which is valued so highly in this country. On every question quite a wide range of views can be found. Certain legislators, for instance, will not even hear of any revision of the U.S. offensive military doctrine. Yet at the same time a bill rejecting first use of nuclear weapons by the United States has been submitted for discussion by Congress. There are people who continue to claim that "talking to the Russians is futile," and yet objective reality is forcing the ruling circles to do just that. Some people are already calling into question the future Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons, while others are saying that it is only the first step, that it is necessary to go further and agree on 50% cuts in strategic arsenals. There are many opinions, shades of opinion, nuances, and mutually exclusive views. Probably on none of the key issues of our time does an unequivocal, precise, and totally clear-cut stance exist. This is why the situation in which the country currently finds itself is so complex. Here in the capital it is felt especially acutely.

There is an expression in U.S. political vocabulary—"it takes two to tango." It is true that without businesslike collaboration, without cooperation between our two countries, without the participation of both sides, it is impossible to resolve the vital issues of our times connected with mankind's survival, with building a nuclear-free nonviolent world on our planet. It so happens that the Soviet Union and the United States bear the historic responsibility for solving the main problems confronting mankind. This responsibility cannot be ducked.

United States & Canada

Reagan's Network Presummit Interview Reported

LD040423 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0156 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Washington, 4 Dec (TASS)—Special correspondents Aleksandr Belikov, Nikolay Turkatenko, Vitaliy Chukseyev, and Gennadiy Shishkin report:

President Reagan has given an interview to U.S. television, timed to coincide with the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. Answering questions about the forthcoming signing of an agreement on liquidating medium- and short-range missiles, the President stressed that this accord differs from everything undertaken earlier in talks on weapons between our two countris, if only because we have before us the first Soviet leader who has expressed a readiness to liquidate weapons already in his country.

Reagan continued: The next step after the conclusion of a treaty on medium- and short-range missiles ought to be the resolution of the question on cutting back intercontinental ballistic missiles by 50%. He said: "These are destabilizing types of weaponry which terrorize the whole world. It is precisely these types of weapons that threaten us with mutual destruction if they are ever used. It is enough to press a button, and in 30 minutes terrible destruction will descend on our country, or, if we are the ones to press that button, then it will strike their country."

Reagan was asked: Would he be upset if next year he did not succeed in carrying out a return visit to Moscow in order to sign a treaty on a 50% reduction in strategic weapons?

Reagan answered: "I would be very disappointed, but I do not think this will happen. I think we will have a meeting in Moscow and I think there is a reasonably good chance that we will take yet another gigantic step in the liquidation of nuclear weapons."

Talking about the treaty on medium- and short-range missiles, which has been prepared for signing, Reagan expressed confidence that despite the opposition of extreme right-wingers in Congress, this document will be ratified. He stressed: "These attacks are founded on ignorance of what is contained in this treaty and, in particular, on ignorance about the success achieved in the area of the monitoring [proverki] of its observance. Not one of the previously concluded agreements has been based to such a great extent upon a system of monitoring, on on-site inspection and so on, as this treaty."

The President added: "The opponents of the treaty think that in some way the Soviet Union comes out with greater advantages in terms of conventional types of weapons as a result of this agreement. However, I have already explained that this is not so, and as I think, we also ought to focus attention on the fact that we have obtain their agreement to a treaty according to which they will destroy four times as many nuclear warheads as ourselves."

Answering the attacks of opponents of an agreement, Reagan stated: "I think that coming out against a treaty most of all are people who in their heart of hearts proceed from the fact that war is unavoidable. However, I think that if there is a possibility to strive for peace, then it is necessary to strive for it, but there will not be peace with capitulation, especially as we are not capitulating at all in signing a treaty which, as I have already said, is advantageous to all of us."

A representative of ABC, Peter Jennings, asked: "Many people are saying that you should render assistance in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Will you not, for example, take upon yourself the obligation not to supply antigovernment troops for a year, if the Soviets pledge to get out of Afghanistan in that period?"

Reagan answered: "I do not think that we could do something like that."

Shabayev Examines U.S. Persian Gulf Policy

LD031655 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS News Analyst Boris Shabayev:

On the eve of the Soviet-American summit meeting one cannot help noting the attempts at maliciously distorting the problems that are to be discussed and are truly important, among them is also the situation in the Persian Gulf. Both the Washington propaganda machinery and the White House officials are saying over and over again that while the USA is doing its utmost in the effort to ensure the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598, the Soviet Union is allegedly hampering that. A rumour has been set afloat specially for the Arab countries that at the upcoming talks Washington will "pressurise Moscow" into taking a "constructive stand" on that issue.

Yet it is possible to find out who should really take a constructive stand only on the basis of the facts. Now we will turn to such facts.

One of the most important prerequisites for the implementation of the above-said U.N. Security Council resolution is that all states should display maximum restraint and take no actions capable of escalating the Iran-Iraq war, which is the root cause of the tensions in the Persian Gulf. This is most explicitly stipulated in point 5 of the resolution, which was also signed by the U.S. representatives.

The Soviet Union, which was one of the sponsors of Resolution 598, strictly abides by all of its provisions, including point five. Washington behaved itself in a different manner. Hardly had ink dried up on that document as the USA sent to the Persian Gulf its naval armada, unprecedented in its size for peace time, as well as shipborne aviation and the Marines. The openly provocative character of that action and the armed clashes in the waters of the Gulf touched off by it caused alarm and doubt even among the most staunch supporters of President Reagan, the *U.S. News & World Report* said.

The results of the peace-making mission of the U.N. secretary general in the region, which was undertaken in keeping with Resolution 598 and placed on record in the relevant document, leave no doubt that the actions of the USA far from contributing to its implementation only increase the threat of an escalation of the conflict.

Proceeding from the present-day real situation the Soviet Union has put forward the initiative aimed at eliminating the obstacles thus artificially created in the way towards the speediest settlement of the conflict. Moscow proposed that a U.N. force should ensure the freedom of navigation in the Gulf while the foreign military fleets should be withdrawn from there. It also expressed preparedness to join immediately in practical work on that issue together with the other permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. The USA and its allies have disregarded that initiative.

One cannot help describing as hypocritical the outcry started overseas over the alleged opposition of the USSR to the adoption at the Security Council of the so-called "second resolution" on clamping down an embargo on arms supplies to the sides refusing to abide by the U.N. decisions. The Soviet Union's stand on that issue is clear and consistent: It is in the first place to remove the obstacles in the way towards the implementation of the resolution already adopted, ensure favourable conditions for the efforts of the U.N. secretary general, which in no way excludes the possibility of putting to use other means, including the "second resolution" for the sake of peace.

And Washington's fuss around embargo causes, to put it mildly, great doubt. It is well known that it was way back in 1979 that the USA clamped down an embargo on arms supplies to Tehran, while the U.S. laws prohibit in general arms supplies to countries taking part in armed conflicts. Yet "Irangate" has shown for the whole world to see that this in no way prevented Washington from secretly supplying Iran for a number of years with miscellaneous military equipment and spares to them. Is there a guarantee that such criminal practices will not be continued this time again under cover of the U.N. resolution.

In the light of these facts one cannot but agree with the French journal *Le Monde Diplomatique* which described the the U.S. policy on the Iran-Iraq conflict and the situation in the Persian Gulf as unprincipled and unrealistic. In the light of these facts the real aim of the attempts to call in question the Soviet Union's attitude to a settlement of that package of problems is transparent.

China

Moscow Radio on Gorbachev, Deng Meeting

OW031419 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Station commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Various countries in the world are very interested in the affirmative response given by General Secretary of the CPSU Gorbachev to the statement made by Deng Xiaoping, political activist in China, that he is willing to meet with the Soviet leader. They are making guesses about the reasoning behind these statements. The following is our commentary on this:

The relations between the Soviet Union and China have notably taken a turn for the better in the past few years. Trade is developing, and talks on border issues and political contacts at various levels are going on. For the first time in many years, a delegation of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association visited Moscow to take part in the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Some observers in the West hold that whether the Soviet Union and China can get closer to each other depends only on the wish of a certain leader. Is this so? Consolidation of Soviet-Chinese ties results mainly from objective historical necessity. Because both of these socialist powers are carrying out large-scale revolutionary reforms, in order to realize their own plans, both the Soviet Union and China need a peaceful environment and want to stop the arms race. This is reflected in their foreign policies. Both have made it known that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. They call for total destruction of nuclear weapons and protection of peace in space. The two countries share the same position on a number of international questions. China welcomes the soon-to-be-signed agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on medium- and short-range missiles, which is the first agreement in history calling for the destruction of these two kinds of nuclear weapons in Europe and Asia.

There are, of course, differences between Moscow and Beijing on some issues. For instance, China has set preconditions for a meeting between Deng Xiaoping and Gorbachev by calling for removal of obstacles. First of all, the Cambodian question must be settled. But meetings between leaders of states are held precisely to discuss and solve complex issues. It is not because of a mistake on the part of the Soviet Union that a Cambodian question exists. Neither is it the mistake of the Soviet Union that the bloody tyrannic regime of Pol Pot killed over 3 million soldiers and civilians in Cambodia. The Phnom Penh government has made a series of proposals aimed at reaching national reconciliation and political settlement. If there is good will, the Cambodian question, as all other questions, can be solved through holding talks.

The only obvious thing is that a further improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations is an inexorable law of history. It no doubt will be conducive to a sound development of the situation in Asia and the Pacific and the whole world. A meeting between the leaders of the two countries will give a strong impetus to the Soviet Union and China to further improve their relations.

PRC Spokesman Cited on Soviet Ties

PM031511 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Statement by PRC Foreign Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] Beijing, 2 Dec—At a briefing for foreign and Chinese journalists today, a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that the Chinese side noted M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Soviet-Chinese relations. The spokesman said the PRC is concerned about the speediest removal of obstacles and would particularly like to see the Cambodian problem settled.

During his meeting with Zambian President K. Kaunda, M.S. Gorbachev noted that the Soviet leadership has paid attention to Deng Xiaoping's statement regarding his willingness to meet with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Gorbachev reaffirmed that such a meeting matches the wishes of the Soviet leadership as well.

A dialogue between the two countries is already under way, the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman continued. Eleven rounds of Soviet-Chinese political consultations have been held at the level of deputy foreign ministers of the two countries.

Answering correspondents' questions, he claimed that China has never demanded that the USSR "improve Soviet-Chinese relations at the expense of other countries."

Water Resources Commission Accords Signed

LD031746 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] The second meeting of the Soviet-Chinese commission in charge of drawing up schemes for integrated utilization of water resources of the border sections of the rivers Argun and Amur has ended in Moscow with the achievement of specific and constructive accords. The sides considered and approved a report on the joint reconnaissance examination of the border section of the river Amur, which was carried out by specialists of the two countries this summer, and a program for further joint work under a scheme for 1988. The meeting's participants reached the conclusion that it is possible, without waiting for the scheme to be completed, to recommend one hydrocenter in the upper reaches of the Amur and another hydrocenter in its middle reaches as priority projects in the work on joint surveying and designing.

Kornilov Views Chinese Rural Reforms

PM041101 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Dec 87 p 3

[Yuriy Kornilov report under the "Along the Roads of China" rubric: "Base for Reforms"]

[Text] Sichuan Province-Moscow—Sichuan... This vast province set in the heart of China, in the basin of the mighty Yangzi, is rightly considered the country's granary. As a member of a group of TASS special correspondents invited to the PRC by *Xinhua*, I traveled several hundred kilometers along the roads of Sichuan. Everywhere I saw the motley squares of carefully cultivated fields and the workshops and chimneys of small enterprises; the peasant houses' gray tiled roofs gleamed through the green of the fruit trees. Nine years ago, Sichuan became the main experimental base for implementing the large-scale revolutionary economic reforms under way in the PRC.

The land in China was and still is socially owned; however, we are convinced that the right of land ownership is in no way identical to the right to engage in economic activity on it, one of the leaders of the PRC State Council Committee for the Reform of the Economic System told us in Beijing. The right to engage in economic activity on the land is now accorded to those who work directly on the land and who cultivate it. In practice, this means that a system of contract responsibility, which already encompasses 98% of peasant families, has replaced people's communes founded on leveling and bureaucratic edict methods of leadership. You can see especially clearly in Sichuan, which occupies first place in the country in terms of harvests of rice, sweet potatoes, rape, and tung nuts and numbers of draft animals, pigs, and poultry, how the Chinese countryside lives today....

The Contract Today and Tomorrow [subhead]

A television antenna can be seen above peasant Gong Guaixi's house—an illustration that we have before us a well-off, even a very well-off, farm. The master of the house, a lean, swarthy man in a dark-blue jacket, meets us at the arched brick gateway, on which ideograms are painted which say: "May peace and prosperity reside in this house." He proudly showed us a carefully tended plot of rice, cabbage, and mandarin trees....

"This year the harvest was excellent. If market prices do not fall, we will receive a good income...."

After the "communes" were eliminated, Gong was one of the first to express a desire to contract to cultivate the land. In accordance with the prescribed norms, he was allocated a plot a little more than 6 mou in area (one mou is 0.067 hectares), calculated on the basis of 0.9 mou per family member. The 10-year contract Gong signed with the state precisely specifies what proportion of the grain crops he must sell to the state at firm purchase prices (payments in kind were later replaced by monetary payments). The remaining harvest is completely at the disposal of Gong and his family. They can sell the surplus to state procurement organs and receive in exchange, say, fertilizers or seed material, or they can take products to the city market....

"Last year our family's income was nearly 6,000 yuans, and this year we intend to increase the total by another 500 yuans," Gong said. "But this is certainly the limit: We have already cultivated literally every scrap of land...."

This is true: Although the family contract has enabled them to raise yields within a comparatively short period of time, it demonstrates all the more clearly the limits of their capabilities. Peasant families must join forces and switch to modern agricultural methods based on the use of the latest technology, mechanization, and chemicalization—many of my Chinese peasant interlocutors agreed with this also—in order to secure a further increase in yield from the land. In other words, it is obvious that if you look to the future, you will not be able to make do with the family contract. Other forms of it are needed: link and team forms. These forms are also already being introduced today in both Sichuan and a number of the country's other provinces, but it seems to me that they are being introduced slowly. Why?

"After the country embarked on the course of reforms, we began to urge peasants to construct new high-quality houses; however, for a long time no one dared take such a step, fearing they would be accused of a 'predilection for private property,'" Li Youwen, one of the leaders of Congqing county, recalled. "Finally a certain beekeeper in our district obtained a loan and within a short period of time constructed a nice dwelling. What happened? Within a few days, rumors crept around the county that the beekeeper had been arrested and sent for 'reeducation' as an 'alien element.' We had to convene a peasant assembly and invite the beekeeper onto the presidium and congratulate him on his new home.... Now, of course, such distrust and suspicion among peasants with regard to measures stemming 'from above' have been considerably dispelled. However, one of the important lessons we have learned from the past is that the wishes and sentiments of the peasant masses must be thoroughly taken into consideration when introducing any innov[illegible] even indisputably positive innovations. Thi[illegible]t cooperative forms of economic activity ca[illegible]ccessful if they are introduced on the pri[illegible]plete free will—only in those areas whe[illegible]n the peasants have themselves reali[illegible]h forms...."

Peas[illegible]lant [subhead]

Not [illegible]age of Baopin, where our friend Gong lives, the brick blocks of a small textile factory rise up. Early in the morning, when some of the village inhabitants are going out into the fields, others are hurrying on bicycles or on foot to the enterprise gate. Gong's neighbor, a young woman by the name of Liu, is among the crowd of workers.

"Tell us, Liu, why did you become a textile worker?"

"There are six people in our family, and four are enough to cultivate our plot of land. So I had to master a new profession...."

Thus this conversation highlights one of the most serious problems in today's China: the demographic problem. In any Chinese city, in any populated area, you will see large billboards bearing the slogan: "One family—one child." However, despite a vigorous campaign to reduce the birth rate, 1.6 million children more than planned were born in the country this year. "The country's population has exceeded 1,060 million people, and there are 100 million inhabitants in Sichuan Province and 510,000 in our county. Yet the area of the county is only 530 square km," the leadership of Guanghang County told us. "How can we make reasonable use of the enormous surplus manpower? Developing all kinds of local industry is the way out...."

This course is also being consistently implemented in Sichuan and the country's other provinces. The following data were cited at the 13th CPC Congress: In the period since 1978, 80 million peasants have switched to the sphere of nonagricultural production and are now employed on the whole at numerous "locally significant" enterprises. These enterprises include small textile factories and plants and mills producing construction materials, furniture, tools, and china and specializing in the processing and storage of agricultural output. "Seasonal work" is also being encouraged: In that same Sichuan, for instance, it is difficult to find a village without its own teams of construction workers and specialists producing bricks and concrete slabs. The authorities give independent construction workers credit to obtain small-scale equipment and instruments. Certain counties organize "instruction teams" for peasants and invite teachers and specialists along at their own expense. The result? Here are just a few figures: In 7 years (1979-1986), 5.1

billion square meters of housing have been constructed in the country's rural areas and the average housing area for each peasant has almost doubled....

GDR, PRC Foreign Ministers Praise Arms Summit

LD031346 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Beijing December 3 TASS—The forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington is an event that gives rise to hope at a time when international tension persists. The Soviet-U.S. treaty eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, to be signed during the summit, attests to the triumph of reason, said Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic, now in China on an official visit.

He made that assessment during his talks with Wu Xueqian, minister of foreign affairs of China.

The implementation of that treaty, Oskar Fischer went on, will open up the road to genuine disarmament. This is why the GDR regards the treaty signing as an event of historic importance, and it did and will do everything within its capabilities for that purpose. The first step should be followed by others in the field of both nuclear and conventional armaments.

Possessing nuclear weapons, Wu Xueqian said, the People's Republic of China stands for the elimination of all nuclear arsenals in the world. This is why China welcomes the Soviet-American accord on the complete abolition of all medium-range missiles. During the Washington summit the parties should exchange views on the reduction of strategic armaments of the U.S.S.R. and the United States. Specific accords in that field would be very important if headway toward the complete nuclear disarmament is to be made.

The Chinese minister said that his country would adhere to that position, speak out on all disarmament issues, pursue an independent peaceful foreign policy and work to safeguard international peace.

Wu Xueqian expressed the confidence that East and West European countries could cooperate in an effort to ensure a durable peace.

Northeast Asia

Fesunenko Comments on KAL Airliner Incident

OW031425 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Igor Fesunenko commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Five days have elapsed since the crash of the South Korean Boeing plane which disappeared last Sunday somewhere near the Thai-Burmese border while en route from Abu Dhabi to Seoul. The debris of the plane is yet to be found but the Seoul authorities have already made use of the incident to increase tension in South Korea, which is on the eve of presidential elections scheduled for 16 December and at which the opposition has a good chance of victory. [Video shows a search party and troops accompanied by helicopters searching in a dense forest]

Last Wednesday President Chon Tu-hwan was quick to accuse certain agents of the North of involvement in the crash of the airliner. South Korean Armed Forces have been placed on alert. At the same time the Seoul authorities are making much of the tangled story involving two passengers from the lost Boeing who left the plane in Abu Dhabi immediately prior to its departure and, therefore, immediately before the catastrophe. As you can see, the map shows the intended route of the airplane all the way to Bangkok. [Video shows the route of the Boeing depicted on a map, cutting to shots of two radios, several unidentified articles, as well as a pen and a passport with a photo clearly seen] These items were apparently taken from the two passengers in question. Immediately after they left the plane, the two made their way to Bahrain, where they were arrested for possession of false Japanese documents. During the interrogation both of them suddenly took poison. However, only one of them—a middle aged man—died. His female companion was saved and is now under heavy guard at a (?military hospital) in Bahrain.

The *Kyodo* news agency reported today that the surviving passenger is stubbornly refusing to answer all questions. This then is a mystery story in the spirit of James Bond movies, which allows the South Korean authorities to begin the hue and cry against some mythical agents of the North.

The atmosphere at the Seoul International Airport is reminiscent of the war days. All entries and exists are being patrolled. Agents in civilian clothes are to be found in all buildings. Armed with X-ray equipment, members of the security forces are examining the luggage of the passengers.

The Japanese police have been ordered to take an active part in this case. Simultaneously, Keizo Obuchi, chief cabinet secretary of Japan, announced at a press conference on Wednesday in Tokyo that his government has no information whatsoever about the participation of mythical Northern agents in the Boeing plane incident. However, the local press is already full of speculation about communist terrorists.

To conclude this item let me once again remind you that this incident is being blown up precisely when only 2 weeks are left before elections in South Korea, and at a time when No Tae-u, candidate from the ruling party, while making a television appearance, intimidated the voters with a communist threat which stemmed, in his words, both from the left-wing radicals within the country and from abroad—apparently alluding to the DPRK.

Several opposition candidates are running against the candidate of the ruling party. Only a short time ago the opposition was united against the dictatorial regime but, alas, the antigovernment forces became split because of the personal ambitions of the various leaders, in particular Kim Yong-sam, chairman of the Reunification Democratic Party, and Kim Tae-chung, leader of the Party for Peace and Democracy. These two enjoy a great deal of popularity in certain circles but unfortunately they were not able to resolve the question of a single candidate. Both decided to run and this obviously lessens the opposition chances at these elections.

Southeast Asia

Further on Australia's Hawke in Moscow

Welcomes INF Accord

PM031535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Soviet-Australian Talks Concluded"]

[Text] In the evening [of 1 December] R. Hawke met with Soviet and foreign correspondents at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

I can carry away very favorable feelings from the attitude which the Soviet leadership displayed toward us during the visit, the Australian head of government said. He reported that quite detailed discussions and talks had been held during the meetings, particularly on the problems of disarmament, on the upcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington, and on regional problems and bilateral relations.

Of course, we have certain differences of interests, but we were able to discuss these questions frankly. We are very pleased, he emphasized, that the Soviet leadership was prepared to answer any questions. The talks that were held enable us to look to the future with a greater degree of certainty as regards expanding economic cooperation between the two countries.

Noting the imbalance in Australian-Soviet trade, R. Hawke spoke of the creation of a bilateral trade commission entrusted with examining questions connected, in particular, with improving access to the Australian market for Soviet goods.

The Australian prime minister rated highly the fact of the upcoming Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles. This is the first instance where an actual reduction in nuclear arms is to take place, and not just their limitation. For us this is a truly historic event, R. Hawke emphasized, indicating Australia's stand on questions of nuclear disarmament. We welcome the fact that the United States and the USSR acknowledge that this is a first step and that both sides are dedicated to proceeding to the next stage of negotiations with a view to reaching agreements in the spheres of strategic arms and chemical weapons.

Discussions With Kamentsev

PM031507 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under the general heading "Talks Held"]

[Excerpts] Talks were held 2 December between V.S. Murakhovskiy and Australian Prime Minister R. Hawke. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the talks were W. Hayden, Australian minister of foreign affairs and foreign trade; C.R. Ashwin, Australian ambassador to the USSR, other officials accompanying the prime minister, and Australian businessmen.

The same day there was a meeting between V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and R. Hawke.

The was a wide-ranging exchange of opinions on questions of cooperation between the two sides in the economic sphere. In this regard the great importance of the program for the development of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Australia in 1988-1995, which was signed during R. Hawke's visit, was noted. Both sides advocated expanding spheres, utilizing new forms of bilateral cooperation, and making that cooperation more balanced and stable.

The Soviet side reviewed the radical restructuring of the USSR's foreign economic relations that is under way. A number of specific projects whose implementation—in the sides' opinion—will promote the development and deepening of Soviet-Australian business ties were discussed.

The meeting was held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

Meeting With 'Refuseniks'

BK021308 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 1200 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] The Australian prime minister, Mr Hawke, has had an emotional meeting with 20 Soviet human rights objectors at the Australian Embassy in Moscow telling them he has pleaded their cases with the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev.

After talks lasting about an hour, the objectors known as refuseniks said they were encouraged by Mr Hawke's efforts. Mr Hawke told them he conveyed the message to the Soviet leadership that until the issue of human rights, Soviet Jewish migration, and family reunion applications were resolved there could not be a full and constructive relationship between Australia and the Soviet Union.

Agreements Signed

PM031519 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Soviet-Australian Talks Ended"]

[Text] The signing of Soviet-Australian documents has taken place in the Kremlin.

Present at the signing on the Soviet side were N.I. Ryzhkov and other officials. Present on the Australian side were R. Hawke and the Australian officials accompanying the prime minister.

E.A. Shevardnadze and W. Hayden signed an agreement between the USSR and Australian Governments on cooperation in the sphere of the exploration and use of space for peaceful purposes.

B.I. Aristov, USSR foreign trade minister, and W. Hayden signed a program for the development of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Australia in 1988-1995.

Ye.I. Chazov, USSR minister of health, and W. Hayden signed an agreement between the two countries' governments on cooperation in the sphere of medical science and health care.

A memorandum of mutual understanding between the USSR and Australian governments on cooperation in the sports sphere was signed by M.V. Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, and W. Hayden.

Delegation Returns From Australia, New Zealand

PM031625 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by R.N. Nishanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, returned to Moscow from Australia and New Zealand 1 December. It took part in meetings and conversations with politicians and parliamentarians from these countries.

The deputies were met at the airport by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and other officials.

PRAVDA Reports on Hun Sen-Sihanouk Talks

PM031515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Turning Point"]

[Text] Paris, 2 Dec—A meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk was held today in the small French town of Fere-en-Tardenois (Aisne Departement). This first, "closed-door" meeting focused on the problem of national reconciliation in the light of the program put forward by the PRK Government on this issue.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship between countrymen, Hun Sen stated in a short interview with journalists. "We achieved definite results," he stressed.

The sides agreed to continue the consultations Thursday. It was also announced that the next stage of the talks will be held in Pyongyang.

It is particularly noted here that the meeting became possible thanks to the good will of the Indo-Chinese countries, which have been pursuing a consistent course of easing tension in Southeast Asia and resolving disputes through peaceful talks with all interested parties. The present meeting, the prestigious Paris newspaper *Le Monde* stressed, can quite rightly be called historic, since it marks a turning point in the settlement of a regional conflict which has obstructed the easing of tension in Southeast Asia for a number of years now.

The Paris press also recognizes the considerable achievements of People's Kampuchea in resurrecting the economy, developing its culture, and overcoming the consequences of the rule of Pol Pot.

Second Meeting Held

LD031147 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Paris December 3 TASS—The second round of talks between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk took place today in the small French town of Fere-en-Tardenois, 100 kilometres away from the French capital. The unofficial meeting, as it was announced here, is focused on the questions of national reconciliation aimed at the peaceful settlement of the conflict, easing tensions in South East Asia, creating conditions for extending cooperation and strengthening friendly relations in the region.

After the first day of the meeting the head of government of Kampuchea noted that it had passed in a constructive spirit, an atmosphere of sincerity and trust and had historic significance.

The French press pays great attention to this first meeting of the representative of People's Kampuchea with the former monarch. "An important step towards peace," *Le Figaro* points out. "The first steps towards national reconciliation," *Le Quotidien de Paris* notes. The newspaper of the French Communists *L'Humanite* makes a point of emphasizing that the current meeting set an example of a search for solutions of settling the regional conflicts.

Soviet-Lao 1988 Trade Protocol Signed

PM021513 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] A protocol has been signed in Moscow 30 November on commodity turnover and payments between the USSR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] for 1988.

The document envisages supplying the LPDR with such necessary goods for the Lao economy as trucks and automobiles, petroleum products, fabrics, medicines, and other consumer goods. In turn the LPDR will increase deliveries to the USSR of its traditional export goods: tin concentrate, parquetry, coffee, and household art and craft goods.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Departs for SRV

PM031629 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Foreign Affairs Commissions headed by S.V. Chervonenko, secretary of the Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission and chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, left Moscow for Hanoi 30 November in response to an invitation. The delegation consists of Deputies I.V. Zakharov, N.R. Radzhabov, and P.M. Telepnev.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Deputy Ye.M. Primakov and other officials.

SRV Ambassador to the USSR Nguyen Manh Cam was among the sendoff party.

Deputy Defense Minister Visits Thailand

PM031153 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Left for Bangkok"]

[Text] Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, left Moscow for Bangkok 30 November at the invitation of General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, acting commander in chief of the Kingdom of Thailand Armed Forces and commander of the ground forces.

At the airport Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy was seen off by Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, and Army General S.I. Postnikov.

Near East & South Asia

Petrovskiy on Prospects of Afghan Settlement

LD041134 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—On the eve of the 9th anniversary of a treaty of friendship, good neighborliness and cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan, which will be marked tomorrow, a TASS diplomatic correspondent asked Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy about prospects for a settlement regarding Afghanistan.

The Soviet leadership, Petrovskiy replied, had a firm intention to seek an early settlement concerning Afghanistan, in particular to withdraw the limited contingent of Soviet troops from that country.

"Naturally enough, this will only be possible on condition of guaranteed non-interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan from outside. This is the kernel of the Afghan problem," he said.

Petrovskiy added that the process of bringing about a political settlement had been facilitated in many ways by the national reconciliation policy of the Afghan leadership, its constructive and flexible position, and its desire to achieve a settlement inside and outside Afghanistan by political means and preserve Afghanistan as a sovereign, integral, non-aligned and independent state friendly with all countries.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister called special attention to the initiative by President Najibullah for the withdrawal of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan in not more than 12 months rather than 16 months, as suggested earlier.

"I think this is a real way of making the forthcoming round of Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, which are conducted through the U.N. Secretary-General's Personal Envoy Diego Cordovez, the final one," Petrovskiy said.

He said the resolution of the Afghanistan problem also hinged to a considerable degree on the U.S. Administration's willingness to settle the problem by political means. "It is appropriate to note this once again today, ahead of a Soviet-American summmit meeting," Petrovskiy added.

Najibullah News Conference on Loya Jirgah

LD031926 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Our correspondent in Afghanistan, (Aleksandr Shkirander) reports:

[(Shkirander)], A press conference has been held in Kabul for local and foreign journalists, dedicated to the progress of work at the Loya Jirgah. Najibullah, elected president of the Republic of Afghanistan by the Loya Jirgah, answered questions from representatives of the largest television companies, newspapers and magazines of many coutries of the world.

(?The meetings) held in Afganistan on the eve of, and following, the Loya Jirgah convinced many journalists that national reconciliation has become an objective reality of life today in the Republic of Afghanistan. However, the behavior of a number of jounalists from Western countries and their questions at the press conference testify not so much to their interest in the measures of the new phase of national reconciliation as their desire to find burning issues and sensational news. Under conditions when armed conflict in Afghanistan between various forces has not ceased, it is not difficult to find such facts. Confirmation of this was the attempt by Afghan extremists to fire missiles on the building in which the Loya Jirgah was held; or the bandit sortie in Kabul's diplomatic quarter, by one of the former heads of a group of bandits that has gone over to the side of people's power. These events really have taken place, but can such provocative forays really eclipse such facts as the adoption of a new constitution, the full support by or the principles of multi-party and coalition that it contains, or the full approval of those taking part in the Loya Jirgah for those articles affecting state policy in the economic, social and cultural spheres, in the national question and with regard to the religion of Islam? As for solving the so-called Afghan question, Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, said at the press conference:

[Begin Najibullah recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] The only true path toward solving the Afghan question is not foreign political pressure, taking the monstrous form of delivering the latest arms systems for the destruction of the peaceful population. The only true path is national reconciliation, dialogue, and (?cooperation) between the people's parties and movements, which to date represent a colourful spectrum of the country's political life.[end recording]

Latvian Soldier on Afghan Military Service

LD021339 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Riga December 2 TASS—"The policy of national reconciliation pursued by the Afghan Government will result in the establishment of peace in that country if the dushmans are left without the West's military support", a TASS correspondent was told by 20-year-old Gunar Cinitis from the Soviet Baltic Republic of Latvia. Cinitis has returned from Afghanistan where he served with the limited contingent of Soviet troops. A former scout, Gunar knows well from what arsenals the dushmans get their weapons. Besides, his own wound, that interrupted his service in the Army, was caused by a splinter of an American mine.

"Neither Italian mortars nor American Stingers discern their victims", the soldier said. "Not only soldiers but, alas, also peaceful civilians are killed by these weapons. Children often become victims of booby-trapped toys".

Gunar's views are shared by scores of young men from Latvia who have served in Afghanistan. In Riga, the capital of Latvia, they have formed a club of former soldiers-internationalists, and called it "Salang". Another club, "Panjsher", has been formed in Gunar's home town of Ekabpils. These names reflect memory of a country whose people is still suffering from division and political strife. "The Afghans could have well coped with their problems were it not for the mighty backers of the dushmans", Gunar and his friends say.

"I would gladly go to Afghanistan again, but only as a tourist. It is a beautiful country", Gunar went on. "I am sure thousands of Soviet people would gladly help the people of Afghanistan not to fight but to build a peaceful life. As it is, at present we have not only soldiers there. Working in Afghanistan are our doctors, teachers and builders. And we all want peace to return to that ancient land. We hope that the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan will enable all Soviet soldiers to return home soon".

Poet on Problems of Soviet Returnees From DRA

LD300924 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2028 GMT 27 Nov 87

[From the "View" program, presented by Dmitriy Zakharov and (Vladimir) Lystev), with guest presenter Political Observer Igor Fesunenko; interview with poet and Afghan veteran Aleksandr (Sasha) Karpenko by Correspondent Yelena Kovaleva; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[text] [Kovaleva] I want to introduce you to Sasha Karpenko today. It is not the first time I have met Sasha, and there was a time when meeting him simply stunned me. Sasha caused me to view certain things in a new and different way. I do not want to guess in advance at what your impressions of your acquaintance will be, only, before you get to know him more closely, I want to say a few words about him.

Sasha left a Cherkassy specialized school where he studied English. Immediately after school, he entered the Military Institute of Foreign Languages. After the institute, he had a choice. Sasha chose Afghanistan. He set off as Junior Lieutenant Aleksandr Karpenko. He took up his military service in Afghanistan. Then came a severe injury and 3 years of hospitals, then he was (?decommissioned out of the Army). Though it seemed that his life really had taken a sharp turn, Sasha came through. He attends the Gorkiy Literature Institute. [video shows a still photograph of a young soldier, then switches to show Kovaleva addressing Karpenko directly. His face appears to have been burned badly.]

I know that many poems have already been written. Please start your own poem:"That Is All".

[Karpenko] [recitation] That is all. I am tortured and convulsed with pain. All in bandages, on a damp bed. I drove into a minefield and perished, perhaps as a hero. That is all. How ridiculously it all turned out. Somewhere in the air a vulture is circling, but (?wait), this cannot be, I am reasoning; that means I am still alive. Life: To begin everything over again from the start is difficult, even if you are wise as Solomon. But my heart said: I will make ready for the struggle. I lie before a yellow wall, having felt, tasted and bitten pain; and life, drawn as tight as a wire, tests my heart to breaking point. Do not leave me life, I will not be afraid. Tragedy often takes away everything; only the soul, the immortal soul will never be destroyed by anyone, ever. [end recitation]

Maybe it is true that Afghanistan, and especially the hospitals, in so far as I was not in Afghanistan for such a long time, turned out to be a kind of watershed between my previous life and the life which began and which-...[changes thought] and my present life, which continues today.

[Kovaleva] Nowadays there is much talk about the boys who return from Afghanistan finding it quite hard to get into our everyday life. What do you feel is the reason that this happens?

[Karpenko] There are plenty of reasons why this happens. First, the friendship that binds together the boys who are serving in Afghanistan somehow becomes an inalienable part of them. Later, as they return, they sometimes run up against various displays of boorishness as they stand in lines, and run up against other negative phenomena. They already have experienced a change inside, and it is just that the boys cannot be nonchalant about those displays of evil one frequently meets in our life here. One ought not to think that everything is smooth back there, but all the same, a certain firm, masculine friendship, unity, in which everyone feels the elbow and the shoulder of his comrade, and then the absolute...sort of uncoordination, and the isolation of people which is often the case here.... I feel that it is not at all obligatory, not at all obligatory, to get into extreme situations in order to more acutely perceive moments when we behave not quite correctly toward the people around us.

[Recitation] I have been away from my mother for a whole year. I just keep letters under my heart. The leaves fall resonantly from the sky, and lie prone on the armor. Once again the Afghan [Afganets, referring to a soldier who serves in Afghanistan] grumbles and gets angry, disguises the sunburn of his face. Where are these leaves coming from? There is not a sapling for a long way off. The leaves huddle trustingly to the ground, and I get lost in riddles. It is long since autumn in Cherkassy. Are you not from there, my friends? Now the sun has set behind Kabul. Maybe I will see you in my dreams, mother. From where will a bullet come here in this silence which is as keen as a nerve? [end recitation]

Sometimes we speak about how hard it is to get into extreme situations. How difficult it is to fight when every step might prove decisive.... It is not so terrible to me to die, as it is to make some uncertain step after which your comrade will die, you see. However, I think that to live a peaceful life is far from being so simple, and may be much more complex than fighting. It is like two sides, two sides to living, so that this is not an easy question. I think that at any given time, the majority of people turn out to be up to the situation in which they find themsleves. [video shows Karpenko's facial injuries. He appears to breathe with some difficulty, at times. Karpenko is shown playing a song on the piano. The camera then cuts to one Sergey Fedorov (identified by screen caption) singing the same song, entitled: Grass [Trava], which was composed by Karpenko.]

[Fedorov, singing] Speak with me, grass tell me where I may find strength. After all, they have just cut me so much that my head has flown off, too. Tell me, sweetheart, how are things, of what vistas does your heart dream? After all, they have set fire to me too, and like you, I have burned to ashes. Where did my strength come from? It seems that it is not so much ash, but that out of these mortal coils we have risen like the Phoenix. Speak gentle words to me, but so that through empty and humdrum days I become young, happy, and wild again. Speak with me, grass.

[Lystev] You know, Igor Sergeyevich, I just do not know anyone who could be left nonchalant about such a subject. This is not the first time we have spoken about Afghanistan in our broadcasts and about the boys who have been fighting there. This topic is always disturbing, and moving, and we get many phone calls asking us to continue speaking about this, which we will do without fail. However, What I wanted to say is that on 25 November I read an article in *Pravda*, entitled: There is no Gratitude in the Soul. There was a very interesting suggestion, that we ought probably to think about establishing an Internationalist's Day. In my view, this is a very proper suggestion. Many of the Afghan boys, and not they alone, would support it. What do you think?

[Fesunenko] First of all, I want to say that just now I was particularly struck at how, in our program and in life, everything has flowed into everything else. Smiles, tears, the joys, drama, tragedies, laughter.... So just look, a simple fellow, Sash Karpenko—what a surprising strength of spirit. How he has unfolded after this tragedy which befell him! After all, it was not he who selected his fate. It was fate that selected him, right? You see, as he himself concedes, he proved up to that selection, up to that fate.... He withstood the most burdensome ordeal that can fall to the lot of a human being. Is that not true?

[Zakharov] Yes, I think that I will express not only my own view, but also yours and that of Vladik [nickname for Vladimir] he has just been called to the telephone—that these are remarkable people, and not only Sasha Karpenko, who in passing through all these thorns has proved capable of preserving (?himself as a person), and of growing out of himself and becoming a poet. I have the most profound respect for all the boys who have gone to Afghanistan and returned. Basically, they have lived three lives: before Afghanistan, in Afghanistan, and now. That demands a very great deal of course, and I bow to these people.

[Fesunenko] It is interesting that such heavy ordeals which befall them somehow opens up their souls in a new way and [words indistinct].

[Zakharov] Yes, and as Graham Greene wrote: If a human being experiences the perfection of a feat in his soul, then he is capable of perfecting it in his life. These people visibly affirm that it really is so—many, many of our young comrades and peers.

[Fesunenko] We send greetings to all the Afghan boys on behalf of our program.

[Zakharov] Yes, absolutely

U.S. Senate Bans Technology Transfer to India

LD040225 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] New Delhi December 3 TASS—An unprecedented step, this is how today's Indian press summed up the recommendation of the Senate Appropriations Committee to ban a transfer of up-to-date American technology to India.

This recommendation runs counter to the United States official consent to provide such technology for India that was expressed to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi during his stay in Washington last October. The Senate committee stipulates the transfer of up-to-date technology with the demand that the Indian government normalize its relations with Pakistan.

The committee's recommendation formally applies in an equal measure to Pakistan and is claimed to be stemming from the need to arrest the nuclear arms race in the region in connection with the fact that both countries have sufficient materials (?for) manufacturing nuclear (?bombs). But it is known to all that it is not without the United States assistance that Pakistan acquired such materials and technology for the manufacture of nuclear devices. It is precisely the United States that has been supplying Pakistan with up-to-date military equipment and know-how over a long period. And the United States continues doing so despite verbal bans and restrictions which have led to present tension in relations between India and Pakistan.

Washington watches closely that its allies and partners should also be starving India of up-to-date technology. A correspondent of the *United News of India* today reported from Tokyo where talks of representatives of Indian and Japanese circles just ended that under a strong U.S. pressure Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry imposed restrictions on the transfer to India of the latest technology in the electronic industry.

Soviet Warships Begin Visit to Bombay, India

PM031037 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Dec 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Visits by Ships"]

[Text] Bombay, 30 Nov—A detachment of Soviet warships consisting of the large ASW ships *Marshal Shaposhnikov* and *Admiral Zakharov* and the destroyer *Boyevoy* commanded by Rear Admiral V.I. Dariopykh has arrived in this major Indian port for an official friendly visit.

The commander of the mission was received by Vice Admiral S. Dzheyn [name as transliterated], commander of India's Western naval command. Indian naval representatives went on board the Soviet ships.

Conclude Visit 3 Dec

PM041239 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Course for the Open Sea"]

[Text] Bombay, 3 Dec—The detachment of Soviet warships under the command of Rear Admiral V. I. Darnopykh has concluded its official friendly visit to Bombay, a major Indian port.

During the visit the convoy [perekhod] commander had friendly meetings and talks with representatives of the Maharashtra State authorities and the Navy and Army Command of the Republic of India. The Soviet sailors saw the sights of Bombay and held sports meetings. Indian Navy sailors and residents of the city came on board the ships.

Warmly seen off by representatives of the Indian Navy and by Bombay residents, the large antisubmarine ships *Marshal Shaposhnikov* and *Admiral Zakharov* and the destroyer *Boyevoy* weighed anchor today and set a course for the open sea.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Ends PDRY Visit

PM041253 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] The Soviet delegation led by P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has completed its visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). It has been taking part in celebrations to mark the 20th anniversary of independence for democratic Yemen.

During the visit the Soviet delegation was received by 'A. S. al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) Central Committee, and H.A.B. al-'Attas, member of the YSP Central Committee Politburo and president of the PDRY Supreme People's Council Presidium, and had other official meetings and conversations.

The delegation has now returned to Moscow.

It was met at the airport by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and other officials.

Israel, U.S. Warned Against Nuclear Armament

TA032032 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The federal court in Albany, New York fined Napco Inc.—an industrial plant manufacturing special military equipment for the Pentagon, or more precisely for artillery units—for selling Israel a large quantity of sophisticated weapons by using a forged license. But what is all this actually about? After all, such things have been known to happen in the past as well, and many Western companies break the law to increase their profits. It is just that the Napco affair has a special significance: The equipment they sold is mounted on long-range artillery pieces and is designed to fire nuclear shells. There is still another level to this case: Napco Inc. was also mentioned in the course of an investigation into the krytron case in which detonators [patzatzim] for nuclear weapons were smuggled from the United States to Israel.

At that time, newspaper reports claimed that Napco was operating on behalf of the CIA, because, after all, it is impossible to export such supersophisticated military equipment as the krytrons [without its consent]. This, however, does not appear to be the main point. The U.S. military industrial fabric has many open channels to operate through, and it would be pointless to solely accuse the CIA. In the end the U.S. judicial institutions will make do with merely imposing a fine on Napco, but it seems to us that this will not spell the end of the story and that the affair will still have ramifications here and there.

So now is the time to ask who benefitted from turning Israel into a country with a nuclear capability? Whose initiative was it to sell Israel the equipment in the first place?

It should first of all be noted that the artillery affair evidently came in conjunction with the Vanunu case, the krytron affair, and other propaganda moves whose goal is to convince people all over the world that Israel is a nuclear power. This time, though, the information carries an even graver implication than before, because this time the items in question are operational and theater nuclear weapons—in other words, this marks the dawning of a new era in the development of nuclear weapons. The impression is that the United States and rightist Israeli circles take a positive view of this development, especially after the Amman Summit. A leak like this regarding Israel's nuclear capability would undoubtedly force the Arabs to engage in a new phase of the arms race for the good of the weapons industries across the ocean and for their financial gains.

Additionally, there is another aspect to the issue, also favorable to the United States: The Pentagon is truly interested in equipping Israel with various types of nuclear weapons. Ever since Israel and the United States signed the strategic cooperation agreement, and some believe even before that, U.S. defense establishment elements took action toward turning the IDF [Israel Defense Force] into the American forces' vanguard in the Middle East. That was the background for the almost complete symmetry between the weapons and the spare parts both the IDF and the U.S. Armed Forces have. Israeli officers have been trained in routine U.S. standards in a bid to create the conditions for a speedy incorporation of the IDF in U.S. military activity should a Middle East crisis evolve. This proves that the Pentagon heads are also interested in supplying Israel with items necessary for a nuclear confrontation. Israel has already been sold aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, the Americans helped Israel develop the Jericho missiles, and now the equipment necessary for nuclear artillery pieces has likewise been smuggled into Israel.

Yet if this is the case, and we have no grounds to think otherwise, the nuclear game the United States is playing in the Middle East would also turn Israel into a potential target.

Sub-Saharan Africa

UNITA Member Claims U.S. Instructors in Zaire

LD04002[illegible] Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] A captured UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] member said at a Luanda press conference that U.S. military instructors are training bandits from this antigovernment group. Captain (Sebastiao de Almeida) said that this training takes place at the Kamina base in neighboring Zaire, to which UNITA has access. The Americans particularly teach UNITA men to use Stinger missiles.

Anti-Apartheid Conference Held in Tanzania

Western Powers Criticized

LD040305 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Dar es Salaam December 3 TASS—Washington, London and Pretoria are striving by joint efforts to preserve the apartheid system in South Africa, to intensify the exploitation of the people of South Africa. This thought is expressed by delegates of the international conference "Peoples of the World Against Apartheid, for a Democratic South Africa" that is held in the Tanzanian city of Arusha.

Western powers encourage the course of the Pretoria racists at destabilization of neighbouring African countries, the head of the Soviet delegation, vice-president of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yan Vagris said at the forum. He said particular concern is caused by the attempts of South Africa, backed by NATO allies to arrest the process of progressive transformations in Angola and Mozambique, to increase economic and military pressure on Zambia and Zimbabwe. He said the USSR will continue helping "Frontline States" hold out against the growing pressure by South Africa.

The Pretoria military which continues occupying Namibia in violation of the United Nations decisions unleashed bloody terror there, trying to suppress the struggle of the people for independence, said President of South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) Sam Nujoma. The racists slay peaceful Namibians, sparing neither the aged nor children. Occupiers throw patriots into prisons. The fate of many of them is unknown. The racists destroy schools, churches, residential houses, burn down crops and kill cattle.

British MP, secretary for foreign and commonwealth affairs of the Labour Party's "shadow cabinet" Gerald Kaufman condemned the attempts of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to present the African National Congress of South Africa as a "terrorist organization". He said that most people in Britain do not share such a viewpoint. In assessing the activity of the ANC [African National Congress] Margaret Thatcher is at variance not only with the British people but also with the foreign office. In documents of the Foreign Office, the ANC is regarded as a movement which is in the centre of the opposition forces of South Africa. Both Africans and whites in the Republic of South Africa are convinced that the struggle against apartheid is impossible without the participation of the ANC.

Chairman of the British anti-apartheid movement Robert Hughes called for comprehensive economic sanctions against Pretoria. He said that when Margaret Thatcher declares against the sanctions she speaks not on behalf of the whole country, but only on behalf of those who have economic interests in South Africa.

Widow of the Swedish prime minister, Lisbeth Palme, condemned collaboration of the USA, Britain, Japan and the FRG with the racists. She said that due to the aid of those four Western powers the racists are able to sow violence in South Africa. 140 thousand children perished in Mozambique and Angola last year alone. Involved in the long-drawn war, Mozambique and Angola have the world's highest child mortality.

Western powers have capital investments of many millions in the Republic of South Africa, said Zambia's Minister of State for Foriegn Affairs Mavis Muyunda. On behalf of "Frontline States" she urged Western partners of the Republic of South Africa to take effective measures to bring Pretoria to its senses. In the long run, it not only Africans who will suffer in the conflict in southern Africa, the minister said. The world community should not be a detached observer of the violence perpetrated by the Botha regime.

USSR's Yagris Promises Aid

LD040235 Moscow In English to Africa 1700 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] The chief Soviet delegate has addressed an international conference against apartheid and for a democratic South Africa. The conference is underway in Arusha, Tanzania. Yan Vagris accused the Western powers of supporting Pretoria, which he said had been pursuing a policy of apartheid and trying to destabilize the situation in neighboring countries.

Yan Vagris is a Soviet vice president. He confirmed that his country intends to give $100 million worth of aid to the Frontline States. The money will be in addition to the Soviet commitments under the agreements for bilateral cooperation signed with the countries directly opposing the racist Republic of South Africa.

East Europe

Comparison of Jaruzelski Reform Speech

Moscow *Pravda* in Russian on 28 November carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the speech by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central

Committee, given at the regular plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. The *Pravda* report, entitled "At the PZPR Central Committee Plenum," has been compared with the Moscow *Selskaya Zhizn* in Russian version published in the 1 December Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 49, column two, and reveals the following variations:

Page 49, column two, first paragraph, sentence one begins: ...[Text] Warsaw, 27 Nov—W. Jaruzelski, first secretary... (substituting "27" FOR "26")

Page 49, first paragraph, sentence two, line five: ...achieving progress by available means are being exhausted. It is necessary... (substituting "are being" for "have been")

Page 49, column two, paragraph two, last sentence, last line: ...the configuration of the economy, and improving the people's living conditions. (substituting "the people's" for "people's")

Page 50, column one, paragraph two, last sentence: ...They are deeply rooted in the traditions of the Polish working movement. In terms of their basic aims our changes coincide with the thrust of reforms in many fraternal countries, particularly with the process of restructuring in the USSR. This trend was convincingly confirmed during the 70th anniversary celebrations of the Great October Revolution. It would be paradoxical if the system generated by this great upsurge of revolutionary thought were to become ossified in static forms and relinquish its most valuable assets: its constant forward movement and revolutionary scale. That is why the reforms are not a transient, fortuitous phenomenon but represent the historical necessity of the contemporary stage of socialism's development, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary stressed. (substituting "movement" for "class" and supplying additional passage.)

Further Reportage on PZPR National Referendum

Polish Spokesman Views Results

PM031405 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "After the Referendum"]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Dec—The results of the national referendum in Poland on the question of reforms in the economy and in the sociopolitical sphere have demonstrated public confidence in the new institution of examining important problems in the life of the country with the participation of voters, who are invited to voice their opinion by means of universal suffrage. This was stated at a Warsaw press conference by the Polish Government's press spokesman. The country's leadership, he emphasized, wanted to find out the actual, freely expressed opinion of society on very important questions of Poland's further development. More than two-thirds of the Republic's adult population responded to the Polish Sejm's appeal and went to the ballot boxes 29 November, thereby demonstrating their interest in a dialogue with the government on fundamental problems. However, the preponderance of positive replies during the referendum was not such that it could have legal force. For this more than half of those with the right to vote had to be unanimous.

Difficult problems were being voted on, the government spokesman pointed out. The ballot was totally free and secret. If the government program has not received a legally empowering majority of votes, this does not mean that the country's leadership will abandon the continuation of the policy of reforms and democratization of life. It is very significant that a majority of the population participated in the referendum. The boycott of the referendum, which hostile forces outside and inside the country had called for, did not succeed. We see the referendum's significance not only in the poll results but also in that it has given us valuable experience of developing democracy in practice.

By announcing the holding of a referendum, he continued, the Sejm afforded citizens the right to make a choice. On 5 December the Polish Sejm will meet for a routine session at which it will assess the referendum's outcome and draw conclusions from the poll results. The government awaits principled decisions from parliament in order to bring the draft reforms into line with them.

IZVESTIYA Reports on Outcome

PM031145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Referendum in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—A nationwide referendum has been held in Poland, in which millions of Poles had to answer two questions concerning reforms of the country's economic and sociopolitical life.

Voters were to express their attitude toward the pace and methods of the intended transformations.

According to data from the Central Commission, 68% of registered voters took part in the ballot (voting in the referendum was not mandatory). The majority of voters voted in favor of the economy's improvement, and their own broad participation in affairs of state and in running the country. This was despite the fact that, according to opinion polls conducted before the referendum, there were numerous hesitating voters or opponents of the changes. "Yes" replies amounted to 66% for the first question, and 69% for the second.

However, these results are not binding because, in terms of the total number of citizens entitled to vote—and this was the principle of the ballot—the number of affirmative votes amounted to less than 50%. This means that the final word on solving the questions of the pace and scale of reform will be spoken by the Sejm, which will meet for its regular session in a few days' time.

The Polish national consultation on the main questions of the present stage in socialist building helped to provide a better understanding of the public mood, to gain experience in large-scale actions of this kind, and to deepen the political culture of the masses.

PZPR Politburo's Evaluation

PM031517 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Referendum Results Examined"]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Dec—A PZPR Central Committee Politburo session held here familiarized itself with information on the course and results of the nationwide referendum held in accordance with a Polish Sejm resolution. It was stressed that the participation of over two-thirds of voters in the referendum, which dealt with unusually difficult and socially important problems, is a vivid reflection of civic activeness and deserves sincere gratitude. The high turnout shows that most citizens approve of democratic forms of decision making on questions important to people's lives. The poll refuted the thesis of society's passivity.

The PZPR Central Committee made a principled analysis of the results of the poll. Exhaustive conclusions were drawn up on this basis. At the same time, the extensive discussion carried out among the masses, and above all the referendum results oblige leading state organs—including the Sejm and the government—to make changes in the program for their future activity, particularly in the economic sphere and the methods of the program's implementation.

PZPR's Wasilewski on Current Cultural Policy

PM031445 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 87 p15

[Interview with Andrzej Wasilewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and writer, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent Yuriy Shcherbak, under the heading "Socialist Democracy and Polish Reality"]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct—Yuriy Shcherbak: Comrade Secretary, Poland has been through a period of great political turmoil. Attitudes in many areas of social life have changed. It goes without saying that this also applies to literature and culture. How do you regard the situation in Polish literature today? What is the status of the writer in modern-day Poland? How are relations developing between the literary world and the authorities?

Andrzej Wasilewski: It is indeed true that life in Poland is changing after all the political turmoil. We are consistently implementing Wojciech Jaruzelski's memorable statement of 13 December 1981 that there will be no return to the destructive antisocialist anarchy we witnessed before December 1981, but also that there will be no return to the ossified bureaucratic system which existed until August 1980.

We have very decisively repelled the attack on the socialist Polish state and begun its fundamental restructuring.

In Poland today antistate activity has been pushed out of the picture, on the one hand, and the mechanism of power and the organization of economic and sociopolitical life are becoming increasingly far removed from the now-obsolete, ineffectual system of bureaucratic centralism, on the other. We have achieved the desired stabilization, but I must immediately make it clear that we do not want stabilization in the form of stagnation. We aspire to the kind of stabilization that creates favorable conditions for our more rapid progress.

These general considerations also apply to culture and literature. The atmosphere of sharp political confrontation is becoming a thing of the past. This atmosphere was created in our culture by opponents of our system. Pitiful results are achieved by authors whose work is published abroad or is in the so-called "secondary circulation" (that is, illegal publications in Poland—Yu. Sh.). Their books are nothing more than colorless propaganda and, despite strenuous publicity efforts, are unsuccessful. There are still a few "last Mohicans" of antisocialist extremism in the creative world, but they arouse little interest.

The state is conscientiously putting an end to neglect, error, and various distortions in its cultural policy. The broadest, most real freedom is given to criticism of contemporary society. When deciding the question of publication we adhere to the principle of assessing a work on merit, regardless of any twists and turns in the political biography of the author.

We have learned to value different opinions and approaches in culture which lead to progressive changes more rapidly and more effectively than an artificial monolith. Throughout the system of state patronage of the arts we place the emphasis on decentralization and public decisionmaking, and also on equal partnership among self-governed creative organizations. The corresponding legal system has been established in a short space of time: the law on artistic organizations, the law on the dissemination of culture, the law on cinematography, and so on, for example. This system provides legal backing for the material and moral status of culture in the socialist state. A culture development fund has been set up within the framework of this legislation as a permanent material base. Tax on royalties forms the core of the fund.

The new cultural policy principles have created an incomparably more favorable climate in which to freely raise contemporary issues. The conflict surrounding work banned from distribution—this now applies only to hostile, anticommunist works—has been reduced to a minimum. The practice of censoring names has completely disappeared. Publications which come out abroad are given an objective public appraisal. If a work is considered to be of value and free of hostility it may be published at our state publishing houses. Experience leads us to believe that this practice does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens the force of socialist culture, attracts talented, creative people to it, and enhances state authority.

At the same time, new problems have arisen that we have still to effectively resolve. The broad range of different viewpoints and values given a public airing in the conditions of free competition poses incomparably more complex tasks with regard to Marxist, socialist influence on public opinion. We have to create a broad, intelligent system to give rapid encouragement and support to work of the greatest value to the model of socialist culture to which we aspire.

One of the most important tasks now facing us is to implement a cultural policy that will effectively influence public opinion and is ideologically-based but not one-sided or arbitrary in its evaluations. Publishers are now totally independent in their decisionmaking, for which they are personally responsible. We are making it possible for publishing houses to quickly publish books on contemporary themes so that the entire production cycle takes no longer than 3-6 months.

We are endeavoring to prevent any increase in book prices as a result of the economic reform, although we feel that the publisher must take the economic consequences if he brings out dull books of no interest to the reader. Book prices must be designed to encourage good readers rather than indifferent publishers.

In summation, we are doing a great deal to speed up change in the political, structural, organizational, and material conditions in which contemporary works of art are created and made accessible to the consumer. The only thing that must not be speeded up is the creative process itself. Traditionally the richest genre in Poland, social and political journalism, responds to contemporary events more rapidly and in a more interesting way than other genres. It is a pity that precisely this genre is translated into other languages least of all. Works of prose mature more slowly. In the last few years, however, several "hot" novels have been written: "hot" in terms of their topical relevance and readers' reaction. This immediate topicality of subject-matter is paid for by a certain degree of haste in writing and assessment; more complex, deeper works have to be patiently waited for. It is up to cultural policy to reveal creative potential to the full.

Yuriy Shcherbak: The Polish authorities have announced and are currently implementing a policy of socialist pluralism. This has repeatedly been stated by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. What are the main features of this pluralism?

Andrzej Wasilewski: We will not allow a return to the "pluralism" which some tried to impose on Poland in 1980-1981. Under the guise of this slogan an entire network of allegedly heterogeneous, independent structures was formed, which in reality were skillfully controlled, anticommunist structures designed to remove the PZPR from power and gradually revive a bourgeois state. The lessons of those experiences compel us to pay very close attention to the actions of opponents of our system, to the need to effect fundamental changes in the method of exercizing power, and in the PZPR's fulfillment of its leading role.

Differences in views and interests are a reality of our society that policy cannot ignore. We used to pretend that our society was monolithic and enthusiastically carried out instructions from above. This did us no good at all. On the one hand, people no longer felt they were involved in the country's affairs and, on the other, there was an increased risk of voluntarist error by a power above criticism. We have learned a lesson from our experience: It is better to have the strong expression of criticism every day than a serious crisis once every 10 years.

The essence of the foundation of the socialist pluralism we are presently building lies in unity, in heterogeneity and the achievement of real integration through the free comparison of different views and outlooks. There is no place in this scheme for those who desire confrontation with the socialist state and the division of society into conflicting political blocs. The intention of the new socialist democratic formations is to activate society's creative potential and create the potential for an equal partnership among different socioprofessional groups. Constant public monitoring of the methods of exercising power is also essential.

The revived independent trade unions with extensive powers, the Constitutional Council attached to the Council of State which consists of prominent figures with different outlooks and political beliefs, the public councils at voivodship level that are to be modeled along the same lines, and the institute for the protection of civil rights are all examples of the new forms of democracy created or being created, which embody the principles of socialist pluralism. While preserving its leading role, the party has no intention of holding a monopoly on power. It has always shared power within the coalition union system with the Democratic Party and the United Peasants Party. By giving this coalition greater weight, the PZPR wants to simultaneously create the possibility of real equality with non-party people holding leading posts.

Rejecting the practice of augmenting the so-called party vetting list and observing the principle of equal opportunity for promotion to a considerable proportion of leading posts constitute one of the most important preconditions of integration and of better use being made of society's creative powers. Expanding socialist democracy, the party must bring the method of fulfilling its leading role into line with the new, more complex conditions. It must foster in its members the realization that they are no longer working in a mutual protection system which will always guarantee they are right and superior to the rest, but in a competitive system in which they must quite simply be better, more competent, more enterprising, and more appealing than the rest if they are to be right. The habit of thinking in terms of mutual protection makes party members passive and inclined to apathy and conservatism, and weakens the spirit of innovative quest and initiative.

Yuriy Shcherbak: I know how important relations between the authorities and the Catholic Church are to Poland. These relations are part of the policy of socialist pluralism, is that not so? There are still a great many difficulties, complications, and much tension in this sphere, which in turn spills over into culture and literature, in which various influences are at work. What is your opinion on this matter?

Andrzej Wasilewski: The Catholic Church is an important element of Polish daily life. Only naive people can ignore its importance. There are extensive areas of social life where Christian science is close to the values of socialist humanism. Pathological phenomena such as alcoholism, drug addiction, embezzlement of public property, or shoddy workmanship, and also dangers like the arms race, harm to the environment, or the collapse of the family are regarded as evils by Catholics and Marxists alike. The harmonious interaction we constantly propose is both possible and desirable in these extensive areas. Many progressive representatives of the Polish Catholic Church are working toward this kind of cooperation.

On a political level we are in favor of separating the church from the state and advocate the principle of reasonable coexistence: The state provides freedom for religious functions and the church's fulfillment of its duties to believers, and in return demands total respect for state interests and the secular nature of various public institutions.

Not all forces in the church agree with this principle, but it is decisively supported by the majority of our people. In the cultural sphere relations with the Catholic Church are extremely complicated. It would be wrong to underestimate the role played by church patronage and religious inspiration in mankind's cultural heritage through the ages. Thanks to the church the history of Polish culture contains not only dark episodes but also passages of brilliance that are the treasure house of our national heritage. We recognize the church's right to play a part in culture. It would be very desirable if the church were to have great success in cultivating evangelic virtues and teaching observance of the Ten Commandments. We have nothing against humanist works based on religious themes. We respect the contribution of many Catholic artists to modern Polish culture. However, we are opposed to expansionist aspirations on the part of the church, attempts to discriminate against culture springing from a different source, and efforts to dominate culture. This is precisely the aim of slogans identifying Polish culture with Catholicism and rejecting as not genuinely Polish anything that is not based on Catholicism. This must also be the aim of the intensive process of mythologizing the church as the only moral and patriotic guide in today's difficult world—this myth going hand in hand with aggressive slander against everyone who thinks otherwise. We intend to wage a determined struggle against this militant form of Catholic expansionism which has done Polish culture a disservice on more than one occasion. However, it must be a struggle of arguments, values, and proofs rather than an administrative battle.

Yuriy Shcherbak: In a very interesting interview with the Yugoslav journalist Erika Novak, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski referred to your book *East, West, and Poland.* I am greatly impressed by this book: Its bold approach to smashing all manner of myths and clearly defining the social situation in Poland inspires gratitude and respect. In it you write about opposition literature and "opposition as a complaisant stand." Has the situation changed and, if so, how much in the few years which divide our present conversation from the time this book was published?

Andrzej Wasilewski: The situation has changed fundamentally. Even those who in 1982 predicted the "emigration of Polish literature" are embarrassed to recall their words now. Myths of the rapid flowering of literature in the so-called "secondary circulation" have faded. Its recent apologists are now themselves admitting that this literature is in crisis. There are two main reasons for this decline.

First, creativity under the badge of "secondary circulation" originally blossomed under strong pressure from anticommunist propaganda. "Secondary circulation" publications are no competition for literature in the real meaning of the word, but this does not mean that they cannot stupefy undemanding, immature minds.

Second, the possibilities for expressing an opinion in the "official circulation" are now fundamentally different, taboo subjects have disappeared, censorship has been reduced to a minimum, and the practice of hushing up works by writers who, to a greater or lesser degree, have been on the other side of the fence in their political activity has now been stopped.

All this means that the center of gravity in creative life is now back where it should be and the "cringing opposition" has been deprived of an easy path to glory. "Independent artists" are no impediment to our party's cultural policy. Quite the reverse. We have come to value their critical outlook and recalcitrance as a necessary, albeit frequently disturbing factor of development. The object of our criticism is those who, while proclaiming their independence, in actual fact are extremely dependent on their Western patrons, who pay well and are very demanding with regard to propaganda. This false independence has been exposed to these people in the most painful way possible: through the withering of their creative powers.

Yuriy Shcherbak: For many years, Comrade Secretary, you were a member of the Polish Writers Union (member of the presidium and secretary of the party organization), a publisher (director of PIW, Poland's biggest publishing house), and a critic. Since the 10th PZPR Congress you have been responsible for cultural policy in Poland. Does this very difficult job leave you much time for critical and publicist work? What are your plans and intentions as a writer?

Andrzej Wasilewski: At present the tasks of cultural policy are so diverse, complex, and urgent that all my time must be spent in political activity. Throughout my life, my creative periods have always been interwoven with periods of action, and my thoughts as a writer have sprung from my involvement in social activity. I hope that the experience I have accumulated will serve as inspiration when I take up the pen once more.

Antonov Attends Moscow SFRY Jubilee Meeting

PM031619 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Celebrating Anniversary"]

[Text] The concern to maintain and augment the great common asset of the USSR and the SFRY—the Soviet-Yugoslav friendship forged through joint struggle, and which has withstood the test of time—guarantees the further strengthening of our relations. This was stressed at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people in the capital on 27 November to mark Yugoslavia's Republic Day holiday. A report by N.I. Maslennikov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, noted that Soviet people regard with amicable interest the efforts of Yugoslav Communists and all working people to increase the people's prosperity, improve socialist social relations, stabilize the economy, and resolve the urgent problems of Yugoslav society.

Milan Veres, RSFSR ambassador to the USSR, described the successes achieved by the republic during the years of people's power, the republic today, and its role in the international arena.

P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the meeting.

On the same day M. Veres held a reception to mark the holiday.

P.G. Gilashvili, A.K. Antonov, and other officials were in attendance.

Army Political Delegation Visits Romania

PM031143 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers of the Soviet Armed Forces headed by Army General A. D. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, was in the Socialist Republic of Romania 26 through 28 November on a friendly visit at the invitation of Lieutenant General I. Ceausescu, member of the RCP Central Committee, Romanian deputy national defense minister, and secretary of the Romanian Army Higher Political Council.

The delegation of Soviet political workers was received by I. Coman, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee. Taking part in the meeting were Colonel General V. Milea, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and Romanian minister of national defense, and Lieutenant General I. Ceausescu, Romanian deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Romanian Army Higher Political Council.

An exchange of experience of party-political work in the two fraternal armies to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th RCP Congress took place at the Romanian Army Higher Political Council. The delegation visited a unit of the Romanian Army and was familiarized with the Romanian servicemen's life and combat training. A Soviet-Romanian friendship meeting was held in one garrison.

Ye. M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania, took part in the meetings and talks, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

The delegation has returned to Moscow.

West Europe

Gerasimov on Foreign, Disarmament Policy
LD2310 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 2253 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has a "good,friendly, personal relationship" with Mrs Thatcher—and wants to see her before meeting President Reagan next week for a "fuelling of ideas", a leading Kremlin spokesman said tonight.

The remarks came from Mr Gennadiy Gerasimov, Mr Gorbachev's chief spokesman on foreign affairs.

He was asked why the Soviet leader will stop off in Britain en route to Washington on Monday, where he is to sign a treaty scrapping intermediate nuclear missiles from Europe.

Mr Gerasimov replied: "I guess it's a refuelling stop. There will also be a fuelling of ideas from one side to the other and vice versa."

Asked why Mr Gorbachev should choose Mrs Thatcher for this pre-summit chat, the Soviet spokesman said: "I think because we have developed a good, friendly, personal relationship between our leaders."

But he refused to label Mrs Thatcher as the pre-eminent European leader: "I don't think we can play this game—who is more important, who is less important."

Interviewed on ITV's This Week, Mr Gerasimov also said:

—That the days when the Soviet Union would make a military intervention in Eastern Europe were now over.

—That the progressive reforms of Mr Gorbachev would continue—even if the Soviet leader were, theoretically, to die—because he was backed "by the majority of the public, and, of course, he has supporters in the leadership".

—That the Soviet Union does not expect Britain to give up Trident missiles as a condition for the planned 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear missiles by the superpowers next year.

"I understand the realities of your position, so I do not expect it," said Mr Gerasimov.

—That the INF treaty to be signed next week "cannot stand on its own feet for too long", because countries could otherwise replace land-based intermediate nuclear missiles with other atomic weapons.

Mr Gerasimov said he thought the planned follow-up deal, of a 50 percent strategic nuclear missile cut, could be achieved by next summer "if there is political will on both sides".

On Soviet intervention in Eastern Europe, Mr Gerasimov's remarks signal a crumbling of the so-called "Brezhnev Doctrine" under which the Soviet Union regarded itself as having a right to exercise strict control over its East European neighbours.

Mr Gerasimov was asked whether "the time is now passed when it would be possible for the Soviet Union to intervene militarily in the name of socialism in Eastern Europe?"

He replied: "Yes. It is."

Referring to recent trouble in Poland, he went on: "When they had a so-called crisis in Poland, there was lot of talk about Soviet troops intervening. It never happened."

Thatcher Receives Carlucci During Stopover
LD031859 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] London December 3 TASS—Britain gives its unreserved support for the Soviet-American treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles and hopes that the European allies of the United States in NATO will give substantial support to President Reagan's efforts to achieve a speediest ratification of this treaty by the Senate.

This was stated on Wednesday by the prime minister of Britain Margaret Thatcher during her meeting with the United States Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci who had made a short stopover in London on his way from Brussels to Washington.

At the same time the British premier stated her support for General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's and President Reagan's intentions to achieve during their forthcoming summit in Washington progress in the matter of concluding a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction of the strategic armaments of the United States and the USSR.

The British press also writes that the question of the American "Star Wars" programme was also dealt with during the meeting and that Margaret Thatcher had told Frank Carlucci that it was necessary for the United States and the USSR to refrain during the coming ten years from deploying arms in outer space and to observe the 1972 ABM Treaty.

AUCCTU's Shalayev Visits Britain

PM031021 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Dec 87 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Sisnev dispatch under the rubric "International Trade Union Movement": "On a Return Visit"]

[Text] London, 30 Nov—A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev arrived in London yesterday at the invitation of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress [TUC].

The guests were met at Gatwick Airport by N. Willis, secretary general of the TUC; D. Lea, deputy secretary general; F. Jarvis, chairman of the TUC General Council Special Committee on Nuclear Energy; M. Walsh, chief of the TUC International Department; and other TUC senior officials. The welcoming party also included L.M. Zamyatin, USSR ambassador to Britain.

This is a return visit. A delegation of members of the TUC General Council Special Committee on Nuclear Energy headed by N. Willis visited the Soviet Union last April. The discussion of energy and trade union problems of mutual interest, which began then, will now be continued in London. During their stay in Britain, the Soviet trade union representatives will visit two nuclear power installations and meet with leaders of the energy industry.

Replying to your correspondent's question as to how the TUC assesses this meeting from the viewpoint of further developing Anglo-Soviet trade union ties, Norman Willis said:

"It is a very important meeting during which questions of tremendous significance for both sides will be touched on. The discussions in Moscow and the frankness with which they were conducted made a deep impression on us. But, of course, we could not exhaust everything of interest to us. In addition, our Soviet colleagues will be able to see for themselves what the position is in our country with regard to all these problems. Our chief topic is power generation, including international safety standards in the nuclear sector. But, naturally, we never miss an opportunity to speak on general topics. We would like, above all, to obtain firsthand information on the developments now taking place in the USSR."

Further on Ligachev's Activities in France

More on Meeting With Barre

PM031411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Important Questions Discussed"]

[Text] Paris, 2 Dec—Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has met with R. Barre, eminent politician and former French premier.

There was a wide-ranging conversation on the profound processes taking place in Europe and the world. They also discussed the role of senior politicians in jointly considering outlines of future European and international security and ways of establishing mutual trust, reducing arms, and organizing comprehensive cooperation. Both sides stressed the importance of the contribution of all European countries to this historic cause.

Ye.K. Ligachev said the elements of new political thinking must be introduced more boldly into Soviet-French dialogue, whose main aim the Soviet Union sees as being to step up collaboration between the two countries in all areas of movement toward a comprehensive international security system.

R. Barre supported this opinion, stating that he considers the positive development of Soviet-French relations to be an important factor in European and world equilibrium.

Holds Talks With Mitterrand

LD032258 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Paris December 3 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today had a meeting with the president of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand.

Yegor Ligachev conveyed to Francois Mitterrand a personal message from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. They had an informal and constructive exchange of views on a wide range of international, first of all European problems and questions of Franco-Soviet relations.

Yegor Ligachev stressed the historic nature of the present turning-point in the life of mankind. He said that the signing of the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles was a signal to commence movement in the direction of global changes in the world, a fundamentally important step towards the triumph of reason in East-West relations.

The Soviet-American agreement actually is of a universal nature: It not only meets the interests of the USSR and the United States but also satisfies the European and world public. In this connection Yegor Ligachev expressed concern with the growing activity, including in France, of opponents of relaxation of tension who already now are trying to "neutralise" the future agreement by calling for a "compensation" for the missiles subject to destruction, for a "balance through additional armament", etc.

Yegor Ligachev outlined the Soviet approach to the political content of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit which should ultimately lead to new major accords, first of all on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms in conditions of the preservation of the ABM Treaty.

The hope was expressed that France would consent to jointly think about the new situation arising in Europe in connection with the concrete steps in reducing nuclear weapons and search for possibilities of a more extensive and effective interaction of the USSR and France in the interests of solving key problems of our time. Yegor Ligachev stressed particularly the importance of the dialogue and interaction of Moscow and Paris in the ECSC process—this joint child of the East and the West of the continent which despite their historical, political, socio-economic and cultural specificities constitute two halves of a single whole—Europe.

On the request of Francois Mitterrand Yegor Ligachev spoke about the present revolutionary transformations in all spheres of public life in the USSR and described the present stage of the policy of restructuring (perestroyka).

Francois Mitterrand thanked for the message from Mikhail Gorbachev and promised to study it closely. He expressed satisfaction with the forthcoming signing of the Soviet-American agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles and wished progress at the talks on the reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States. He also outlined the known French position on national nuclear forces. The president wished success to the policy of perestroyka and expressed hope that it would promote more understanding and trust among the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

The participants in the meeting expressed the common view about the need to impart a new impulse to the development of Soviet-French cooperation and political dialogue.

First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Zagladin and the USSR Ambassador in France Yakov Ryabov took part in the conversation.

Speaks to PCF Congress

PM041211 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under headline "On the Road of Struggle: At the French Communists' Congress"]

[Text] Paris, 3 Dec—Today at the 26th Congress of the French Communist Party a speech was delivered by Yegor Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said:

Esteemed comrades, friends!

Allow me to wish you, the delegates to the 26th Congress of the French Communist Party, success in your work. The CPSU Central Committee sends communist greetings to the Communists of France and expresses its unfailing solidarity with their selfless and noble struggle.

Since the time it was formed, our party has unfailingly supported the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people of your country. The familiar saying goes: Observing traditions is not keeping the ashes but maintaining the fire. I think every honest person cannot but recognize: You are maintaining the fire kindled by your precursors; you are raising high the banner of your revolutionary traditions and boldly blazing the trail to genuine liberty and internationalist fraternity of the people of labor. This rang out with new force in the wide-ranging and full report of Comrade Georges Marchais at this congress of French Communists.

Comrades! Recently the Soviet people marked the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Whatever trials have fallen to our lot, not a single year has been lost. Socialism has been built and strengthened, and has passed a strict and complicated test of durability. That is the main result of these glorious 7 decades.

Today we are quite determined to radically perfect our socialist society, to take it to a new qualitative level. We have called this big job, which is far from easy, by the word now familiar to the whole world, "restructuring." Its formula is further, deep-reaching democratization of society and radical economic reform. All of this is in order to speed up social development and to improve the material, spiritual life of Soviet people.

We are striving to create conditions for real participation of the masses in governing the state and all affairs of society. First and foremost, this is via developing democracy in production, self-management of labor collectives, transition to elections and accountability of managers of enterprises, and expansion of glasnost in society.

The broad democratic changes in the country will, we are certain, reliably reinforce the economic reform.

It consists, essentially, of stimulating the progress of productive forces primarily through economic and democratic methods of management. The key elements of this mechanism are financial autonomy and self-financing of enterprises and industries, centralized control of the basic proportions of social production, independent decisionmaking, and full responsibility for the results of work by enterprises and associations—the basic economic links. An important role is allocated to the further development of cooperatives, in particular the strengthening of kolkhozes in the agrarian sector and creation of cooperatives in the services sphere. A definite importance is attached to widening individual forms of labor activity in the consumer services field, as well as of private subsidiary holdings, which now provide one-quarter of agricultural production.

Restructuring is a revolutionary process that has its own logic and its own stages. The first stage—from April 1985 to October 1987—was a very fruitful one. It provided us with the concept of acceleration, a plan for revolutionary renewal, the necessary social atmosphere, and included new mechanisms for attracting the people toward economic, political, social, and spiritual changes. In the next 2-3 years, it is necessary to bring these mechanisms into full circulation and to transform political and economic decisions into concrete deeds. How restructuring progresses further will depend on this. In a word, these will be decisive years in the restructuring timescale.

This is, indeed, no simple stage. It will affect millions of people. But at the same time, we will avoid social collisions because the most important thing for us in restructuring—if you like, its human dimension—is to continue to preserve for people social protection and confidence in tomorrow.

This is not a propagandist slogan but a realistic policy. Here is one of its manifestation. At issue is the job placement of workers to be released in the course of restructuring from the management apparatus and from existing production facilities. This is guaranteed by the plans of economic development, by creation of the state system for cadres retraining, and for their job placement. The workers to be released will be granted material and other benefits and compensation. But the main thing lies in something else: The Constitution guarantees their right to work and their unconditional involvement in work activity. This is possible only in socialism.

The country will pass through the new stage of restructuring successfully. But there are many difficulties on this path. This confidence is based first and foremost on the fact that society has ripened for the changes, that the working class and the people are in favor of the restructuring, and that they demand that restructuring advance confidently.

The other source of our optimism is results achieved in just over 2 years of restructuring. Its important achievement, which also simultaneously represents the guarantee of its success, is a new atmosphere that has developed in the society. It is an atmosphere of committed discussion of all problems and effective public opinion, of improvement in society's ethical and moral health, an atmosphere in which people feel confident and in which they work enthusiastically as true masters of the country.

Restructuring is not declarations but real deeds. The main meaning of it is creation.

The basic economic complexes, in particular power engineering, electronics, and instrument-making, are undergoing rapid development. The agrarian sector of the economy is growing discernibly. It has been possible to achieve real moves forward in solving a number of big social problems. There has been an increase in wages of workers and collective farmers of 6% to 9%, and of teachers of 25% to 50%. About 16 million labor veterans have received an increase in their pensions. There are increases in grants for students and graduates and in allocations for keeping orphans and children without parental guardianship. A large-scale improvement of the health care system has started. There has been a discernible acceleration of the rates of housebuilding: 22 million people have improved their living conditions.

In a word, the movement forward has started. We are fully determined to take restructuring to its conclusion, and we will do so!

Restructuring was started on the party's initiative. It was precisely the party and its Central Committee in the spirit of dialectical thinking that found the proper answers to questions facing us and that defined the path to the future. In implementing this work, we constantly turn to the lessons of Lenin, to the lessons of our history. One of the main lessons is, while remaining true to the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to develop it in a creative way. The party must be in the vanguard of society; it must see and solve existing problems. We will strive to penetrate in depth into the dialectic of processes unfolding in the country and in the world as a whole. In the complex contradictions of social development, we see not a barrier and not an obstacle to movement forward, but the source of that movement. It is in precisely this way, orienting ourselves on the Leninist approach to matters, that we are acting and will be acting in the future.

Comrades! Restructuring in our country has affected not only the sphere of domestic policy but also the field of foreign policy. As before, all of our goals in international affairs are determined by the Leninist ideas of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation. But, naturally, we are developing them, taking into account the nature of the contemporary world—a contradictory world, but an integral one, linked together both by common problems and by common dangers. The most serious of these is the nuclear threat, the danger that all contemporary civlization may perish. Our foreign policy concept is the concept of a nuclear-free and ultimately demilitarized world. It means forming a comprehensive system of international security.

In Washington in a few days, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan will sign a treaty on elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. Thus will be made the first practical step on the road to a nuclear-free and safe world.

Problems of reducing strategic offensive weapons and of guaranteed compliance with the ABM Treaty will be discussed in Washington. We would like these problems to be solved as well.

The majority of officials in the West also seem to approve of the advances taking place. However, at the same time, attempts are being made there to put the brakes on the movement that has been started, or even to reverse it. First and foremost, in NATO they are continuing to energetically defend the policy of "nuclear deterrence," that is, to bank on preserving and further improving nuclear weapons.

Continuing the course of "nuclear deterrence" could at any moment turn out to be a death sentence to all living things on earth. The arms race is even today inflicting immense damage on mankind. One-fifth of the world's scientists are engaged in developing weapons to annihilate people. The number of military servicemen exceeds the number of doctors and teachers. The Moloch of war devours every tenth tonne of the most valuable types of raw material. This happens at a time when millions of people, including children, are dying from hunger and disease in the world and when dozens of urgent social problems exist in all countries!

The arms race has placed even the United States, the richest capitalist country in the world, in a difficult position. The dollar is "shrinking" before one's eyes, and there seems no end to the convulsions on the money exchanges.

Now, when the world stands on the threshold of true disarmament, it is necessary to raise the vigilance of the peoples and to build up their efforts in this direction, so that the process of liquidating nuclear weapons gains in strength and develops along an upward path. At the same time, responsible politicians should be fully aware that the time is coming to think seriously about restructuring international relations during a period of disarmament.

As you know, comrades, during celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, a meeting was held in Moscow of the representatives of parties and movements participating in our jubilee. Represented at it were various political forces—communists and social democrats, revolutionary democrats, and "Greens". Altogether, there were delegates of hundreds of millions of earth's inhabitants. One hoped the meeting would play an important role in unifying the world communist and workers' movement, and in solidarity actions by social forces in the struggle for lasting peace and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Comrades! The Soviet people share and support aspirations of the peoples of Europe to create a genuinely peaceful "common European house." But this house can be built only in the event that gunpowder is not accumulated in the cellars, and nuclear explosives all the more so. But today, you see, although they are happy to talk in the West about peace, security, and cooperation, they are in fact steering the course of building up and developing ever more sophisticated weaponry, including neutron ammunition. They are striving to consolidate military structures or create new ones. Words and deeds here resolutely go their separate ways. This cannot fail to give rise to fears.

Let us think together whether conditions have not ripened for a pan-European initiative for the benefit of peace, disarmament, and cooperation, with the participation of the broadest political and social forces of the whole continent. Why not, for instance, stage a "European roundtable" on problems of European security? We are prepared to carefully examine any other suggestions going in this direction.

The Soviet Union, as it did before, attaches great importance to developing Soviet-French relations and to enhancing their role as an important factor of security and balance in Europe. But frankly speaking, the anti-Soviet campaigns systematically organized in France by the adversaries of Franco-Soviet friendship are rousing bitterness and incomprehension in our people.

The Soviet people have deep feelings of sympathy toward the great French people, to its traditions, its struggle against militarism, its peace and freedom. The recent meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with a large group of representatives of the public of your country is a graphic expression of our respect for the French nation. This was a genuine message of friendship regarding France and its people.

I can assure you, dear comrades, that our party will continue in the future to do all it can to strengthen the friendship of our peoples and, of course, fraternal friendship and solidarity between the CPSU and the PCF.

In conclusion, permit me to wish you success in the French Communist Party's struggle for the working people's interests, and for cohesion of all workers and democratic forces for peace and disarmament.

Long live friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and France!

Long live peace and socialism!

CPSU Greets French Communist Party Congress

PM031409 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings to 26th French Communist Party Congress]

[Text] To the 26th French Communist Party [PCF] Congress

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee ardently greets the 26th PCF Congress and all French Communists and expresses fraternal solidarity with your struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism and for friendship between the Soviet and French peoples.

Your congress is being held at a crucial historical time. The world has approached a turning point. It is right that now the question of where mankind will go is being resolved—whether toward a further, increasingly dangerous arms race or whether, finding the strength within itself, it will make a turn toward real disarmament. The ideas of saving life and civilization on earth, of a nuclear-free world, of peaceful coexistence, and of equal international cooperation are gaining a hold over increasingly more people.

In this complex situation the CPSU and the PCF, founding their relations on principles of equal rights, autonomy, and independence and each taking its own national conditions into account, are waging a consistent struggle against the nuclear threat, for peace and security, against imperialism and neocolonialism, and for social progress.

Under new historical conditions, 70 years after Great October, socialism has been and still is a very important factor of world progress. Refuting the false arguments of anticommunists that the Soviet system has exhausted itself, in the course of restructuring it is once again demonstrating socialism's vitality and its capacity for strong development and self-improvement. Soviet Communists value highly the support of their French comrades and their indefatigable concern for strengthening friendship between our peoples.

On behalf of all Soviet Communists, we wish you success in your struggle for your individual path to a society of social justice, without exploitation or oppression, and for peace and international security.

May the bonds of fraternal friendship and international solidarity between the CPSU and the PCF strengthen!

May friendly ties and cooperation between the Soviet and French peoples develop!

CPSU Central Committee

France, Iran Conclude 5-Month 'Embassy War'

PM021416 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "France—Iran: The 'Embassy War' Is Ending"]

[Text] Paris—The "Embassy War" which went on for 5 months between France and Iran, during which the Iranian Embassy in Paris and the French Embassy in Tehran were blockaded and diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off, is ending. Its conclusion was preceded by lengthy negotiations that took place in deep secrecy.

Just 48 hours after the release in Lebanon and return to Paris of two French hostages, R. Auque and J.-L. Normandin, Iranian Embassy interpreter V. Gorji appeared before French investigators. He agreed to give evidence about terrorist acts committed in Paris in the fall of last year, which he had formerly refused to do; this led to the blockade of the embassy. After a 2-hour interrogation V. Gorji, against whom no charges were made this time, left the Palais de Justice and, with a police escort, was taken to Le Bourget airport, where he will leave for Tehran on a special plane.

At the same time, after interrogation in a Tehran court, French Consul J.-P. Torri was allowed to leave Iran, after being forced to remain in the French Embassy building for 5 months. In the near future, a communique from the Hotel Matignon, the prime minister's residence, says, a number of other problems in Franco-Iranian relations are to be resolved.

Glazunov's Painting Exhibition Opens in Paris

PM030941 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[Unnamed PRAVDA own correspondent dispatch: "'Window on Russia's History'"]

[Text] Paris, 30 Nov—Parisians first saw Ilya Glazunov's canvases a few years ago at an exhibition in the UNESCO building. Now a new exhibition of the artist's work has opened in the "Pierre Cardin Center," one of the most prestigious exhibition halls in Paris.

It is a small exhibition of 33 pictures in all, which we know from Glazunov's last exhibition in the Manezh. "Tsarevich Dmitriy," "The Grand Inquisitor," "Dostoyevskiy," "Nina"... Ilya Glazunov's artistic style is now clear to us and near to our hearts. For French people the encounter with him is largely a surprise and a revelation. People here have a poor knowledge of our history, and also largely of our literature, not to mention Russian painting, knowledge of which stopped at Malevich, Chagall, and Kandinskiy.... The review book placed at the exhibition hall's entrance is full of enthusiastic assessments.

Pierre Cardin, the well known designer and patron of the arts and a great friend of our country, said to correspondents: "I think that the artist has managed to reflect in his works the national character of the Russian people and the main phases of their history. These canvases are, so to speak, a window on Russia's history."

...I went out of the hall into the rainy street. I caught snippets of conversations: "Did you see," an elderly woman was saying to her husband, "the eyes on that 'Russian Icarus'? I now understand why they were the first to break into space...."

Spain's Gonzalez 'Demands' U.S. Planes Removal

LD040229 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Madrid December 3 TASS—The Spanish people demands the decrease of the U.S. military presence in Spain. "This is the expression of the will of our people formulated during a referendum", said Spanish Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers Felipe Gonzalez. In his yesterday's appearance on local television he emphasized that the Spanish-American talks are not a "multilateral problem" but a question of bilateral relations between Spain and the USA.

This pronouncement of the president of the Council of Ministers is viewed here as the answer to the statement made in Brussels by the U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci that the United States will be consulting NATO on the question of 72 F-16 U.S. fighter-bombers basing at Torrejon De Ardoz, a U.S. Air Force base near Madrid. As is known, Spain demands that the U.S. planes be removed from its territory.

Even if pressure is brought on us, the Spanish Government will not alter its stand, Gonzalez said.

Shenayev Speaks to Austrian Reporters in Moscow

AU011455 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 1 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] Moscow—Austria's trade with the USSR has declined by 50% from 1985 to the end of 1987. This corresponds to the general trend of Soviet trade with the West. Because the country's foreign currency reserves have been drastically reduced by the decline in the price energy and in the dollar exchange rate—oil and natural gas bills are calculated in U.S. currency—it was necessary to cut imports. Now the USSR must turn away from the "monoculture" of energy exports and sell more finished goods. "The economic reform will help us with this," stressed Professor Vladimir Shenayev, head of the Center for West European Studies of the World Economics and International Relations Institute in a talk with Austrian journalists in Moscow.

In connection with Soviet trade with the West, the expert speaks of a "precrisis state." He does not expect any improvement in the situation this year. At present the various import restrictions in the West and restrictions of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (Cocom) with regard to the export of Western technology to the East do not pose any big problems for the Soviets. If, however, the 70 Soviet enterprises and industrial associations which have been granted the right to engage in foreign trade now enter the Western market with their finished products, these restrictions might have a negative effect on them and might hamper the exchange of technology.

Shenayev considers the decentralization of foreign trade rights from the Ministry of Foreign Trade to the 70 enterprises to be much more important than the legal permission to establish joint ventures with foreign companies in the USSR, which was granted at the beginning of the year. Shenayev points out that the legislation for joint ventures is steadily being expanded and made more attractive: "There must be a balance of interests between the two sides."

Western companies are to make profits in these projects and gain a foreign exchange surplus. The joint ventures do not necessarily have to sell their entire production in the West. If, for instance, their products replace imported goods and thus help to save foreign currency, the Soviet state might pay for them in foreign exchange and thus provide the Western investor with profits in hard currency.

The USSR has already signed 11 contracts on establishing joint ventures with Western companies, including Austrian firms. Another 37 contracts are being prepared. A total of 200 proposals for joint ventures have been submitted.

Professor Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, thinks that free-trade zones could be established in the USSR, following the example of China. Joint companies could be settled, for instance, at the border with the CSSR, with Romania, or with Finland.

Shenayev stresses that, although it would be important for foreign trade to make Eastern currencies convertible among each other and with Western currencies, this goal can be reached only if goods are also convertible, that is, if sufficient amounts of goods with good quality are produced. He considers it likely that the Eastern currencies will be made convertible among each other by the year 2000. There is, however, no chance that the ruble will be made convertible in the West in the near future.

EC-CEMA Agreement Next Year [subhead]

According to Shenayev, the EC is considered an "objective reality." He expects the conclusion of a skeleton agreement between the two economic alliances in 1988, which will probably be limited to economic issues, the exchange of information—of statistical material, for instance—environmental protection, standardization, and other questions. Concrete trade contracts will then be negotiated with the EC by the individual CEMA members.

Shenayev considers accession of further West European states to the EC to be conceivable. With regard to Austria, he thinks that Vienna is obligated to adhere to neutrality. As long as the EC acts as a political and economic community, this is no problem. If the integration were, however, to extend to the military area, this would be in contradiction to neutrality, Shenayev says.

Further on News Conference

AU011509 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 1 Dec 87 p 4

[Erich Feichtinger dispatch from Moscow: "USSR on Austria and EC: No Military Integration!"]

[Text] Moscow—The insight that one cannot simply join the EC without sooner or later being forced into a military-political decision in NATO's interest, seems to have also reached Foreign Minister Mock. Therefore, last week in Parliament, he threatened that Austria's full membership in the EC does not exclude military integration into the EC. Said Mock: "We should not draw the conclusion that we can join the EC with a reservation and then say good-bye again as soon as it turns into a defense alliance."

At a press conference in Moscow, Professor Vladimir Shenayev, head of the Center of West European Studies of the World Economics and International Relations Institute, said that Austria's membership in the EC is inconceivable under these conditions. His institute often discusses whether Sweden, Norway, Finland, or Austria should accede to the EC, and he personally thinks "that the accession of other countries to the EC is not absolutely impossible." The decision about this is these countries' own responsibility.

But, the economist added, "some of these countries are bound by other obligations, namely Austria, by neutrality."

As long as integration applies only to the economic and political fields, in his opinion this can be brought to a "common denominator" with the principles of neutrality. Provided that "European security in the broader sense of the word," that is, political and economic security as well, "is duly taken into consideration."

Shenayev made clear: "If, however, integration were to extend to the military area, then it would be in contradiction to neutrality. Under these conditions, one has to think of fulfilling one's obligations."

Can Shenayev imagine political decisions being permitted to be made for Austria in Brussels? He himself proceeds from the premise that the intergovernmental institutions in the EC, such as the Council of Ministers and the summit conference, start to play a bigger role than the supranational organs of the European Parliament and European Commission. The following then applies to the political and economic sector: "If it is a question of intergovernmental relations and not of supranational organs that are permitted to give orders to other states, I think that neutrality is compatible with membership in the EC."

Austrian Banker Interviewed on Cooperation

PM031005 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Dr Hannes Androsch, general director of the Austrian "Creditanstalt" Bank, by A. Cherepanov: "Hannes Androsch: We Are Confident of Success"; first three paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction; interview conducted in Moscow 25 November]

[Text] The permanent office of the Austrian commercial bank "Creditanstalt," the country's leading bank, officially opened in Moscow on 26 November.

Founded in 1855, "Creditanstalt" has ranked as one of the top 100 world banks for the last 10 years. Its own capital amounts to approximately 11.6 billion Austrian schillings and its total balance is equivalent to 372 billion Austrian schillings. "Creditanstalt" is trustee to approximately 29,000 Austrian firms. It owns 17 major industrial enterprises with an annual turnover of 50 billion schillings, more than half of which comes from export earnings.

The day before the official opening, our *Izvestiya* correspondent had a meeting with Dr Hannes Androsch, general director of the bank.

[Cherepanov] What are the main reasons that prompted "Creditanstalt" to seek accreditation in Moscow?

[Androsch] Austria is in second place, after Finland, among the West European countries having close economic relations with CEMA states. But, despite this, these relations must be further developed on a mutually advantageous basis. Your country plays a big role in international economic life, to say nothing of its enormous, inexhaustible potential.

Moreover, expanding economic cooperation between the USSR and Austria makes a contribution, a small one, but a contribution nevertheless, to the mosaic of European political security in the economic sphere. We welcome the move toward integration on our continent: between the Europe of the EEC and the Europe of CEMA. We must all be involved in one process alone, the Helsinki process. Ultimately, we want to earn some money as well.

An important role was also played in our decision by the fundamental transformations that have begun in your society. We can see that you are not just talking but acting. This concerns not only the economy. I have been able to see with my own eyes that changes are taking place in your country on a political level. I believe that greater openness will also contribute to greater receptivity to all achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

[Cherepanov] How long has your bank had to wait to be accredited?

[Androsch] Ten months from the time it submitted its application. This waiting period could have been shorter, of course, but it is quite normal by international standards. In the FRG, for example, it can be anything up to 14-16 months. As soon as we presented our credentials, the State Bank and Foreign Trade Bank gave us invaluable help.

Your question suggests the thought: Are we not afraid that we may encounter bureaucratic obstacles in our future activity? No, we must overcome them together. We also have bureaucracy in Austria, believe me.

[Cherepanov] What are the bank's plans for the immediate future?

[Androsch] We have made the Soviet side several far-reaching proposals in industry and in other areas. Austria is one of the world's leading tourist countries. We have enormous experience in this field. We are prepared to share this experience. We made this clear to your premier, Nikolay Ryzhkov, during his recent visit to our country.

Some time ago I suggested to your ambassador in Vienna that we set up a joint management school in the Austrian capital. "Creditanstalt" could organize a joint commercial enterprise in conjunction with the Foreign Trade Bank. It would be a kind of postgraduate training establishment to improve the qualifications of your specialists and ours.

[Cherepanov] Clearly, there are more than enough examples, are there not? But have you ever experienced a negative attitude to your proposals?

[Androsch] I would not use the word "negative." You want to convert your truck pool to diesel motors. This will save you billions of rubles. For 7 years, I personally have tried to interest the Soviet side in this. We have considerable experience in this field. We could understand if this contract had been given to one of our competitors. But even this is not the case. Everyone agrees that our proposal is advantageous but nothing is being done.

[Cherepanov] In mid-December your bank is organizing a seminar in Vienna on joint enterprises in the USSR. Which problems do you regard as the most important in this respect?

[Androsch] The main problem is finding cadres for these enterprises. Incidentally, it is precisely for this reason that we are proposing to set up a joint management school.

Second, such a joint enterprise should not be heavily taxed.

Third, it must be more profitable than the same sum invested in another joint enterprise or in U.S. stock market securities.

Fourth, the joint enterprise must yield revenue in hard currency. For this to happen, approximately one-third of its output, with minimum production costs and high quality, should be exported.

All this has to be discussed. I hope that our cooperation will be highly productive. We are confident of success.

Political & Social

Ligachev Discusses Working With Gorbachev

PM041442 Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Dec 87 pp 1,6

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yegor Ligachev by Michel Tatu and Daniel Vernet in Paris—date not given, first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the CPSU Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, is in France where he is attending the 26th PCF Congress. He received us at the ambassador's official residence in Rue de Grenelle, Paris.

He was relaxed and at ease discussing all subjects, he laughed a great deal and even joked when the questions struck him as provocative or falsely naive. He rejected the "conservative" image he is usually given and, of course, said he is in full agreement with Mr Gorbachev. "Restructuring is democratization plus economic reform," Mr Ligachev said and, asked to give more details about his role in the Soviet leadership, he implicitly confirmed that he is rather more than number two in the leadership.

[Ligachev] Each CPSU Central Committee secretary has his own sector. I chair the Central Committee Secretariat's meetings and, at the request of the Central Committee Politburo, I organize its work.

[Interviewer] Is it not the general secretary who acts as chairman?

[Ligachev] Gorbachev chairs the Politburo meetings. The Politburo has entrusted me with the chairmanship and organization of the Secretariat's work, but Mikhail Gorbachev is always informed of all matters discussed at Secretariat meetings. I consult him constantly and he is fully informed of what happens.

I know what you say about me....

I would like to point out that we work in a very friendly way with Gorbachev, I ask you to understand that and to make it known that there is no difference between Gorbachev and Ligachev, that they are on the same wavelength.

[Interviewer] You are shocked at being portrayed as a "Conservative" in the West. You are said to support restructuring but not glasnost.

[Ligachev] It is impossible to support restructuring but oppose glasnost. It is stupid to say that. It is simply a misunderstanding because, if you want to describe restructuring very briefly, it is democratization plus economic reform—or to be even more succinct, it is a better intellectual and economic life for the Soviets. According to our Marxist-Leninist theory it is impossible to make economic progress without democratization, and the idea of democratization without glasnost is ridiculous.

[Interviewer] You have criticized some newspapers like *Moscow News* and *Ogonek* which seem to be in the forefront of glasnost.

[Ligachev] That is true, I criticized *Ogonek* and *Moscow News* but we also criticized *Pravda, Izvestiya, Sovetskaya Rossiya*, and others. We frequently have meetings with the editorial teams of the various press organs. A large group of press representatives attends the weekly Secretariat meeting. We sometimes take that opportunity to make criticism and, on other occasions, to express our approval. We are working closely with the press. The press is a tool without which it would be impossible to carry out political work.

Moreover, if the press can criticize everybody, why should we not criticize the press? Everybody must be open to criticism because criticism is not a denial of confidence. We have criticized *Moscow News* and *Ogonek*, but their editorial teams are still in place and their work has improved.

[Interviewer] Nonetheless, you have warned against the tendency to use "openness" to expose Soviet society's failings. Do you think that the Soviet press is spending too much time exposing shortcomings?

[Ligachev] I think that we are not yet using the full strength of openness and of criticism of all that is useless and prevents our forward movement. I am convinced that in our socialist society, there must be no limit to openness, aside from state secrets.

The policy of extending openness and developing criticism and self-criticism is not just toying with democracy, it is the party's fundamental position. Criticism greatly increases our strength.

It goes without saying—and we all share this conviction—that criticism is not an end in itself. The aim of criticism, as we understand it, is to find ways of remedying existing faults and speeding up forward progress. In other words, criticism must be constructive.

Restructuring is a revolution. And, like all revolutions, it carries out both destructive and constructive tasks. But destructive tasks, in other words criticism, is carried out for the sake of the essential thing, which is creation. That is what we call the constructive aspect.

[Interviewer] You expressed your agreement with the publication of works by Soviet authors hitherto banned in the USSR, but you expressed regret that they are sometimes the object of "excessive admiration." Do you not think that the best way of avoiding that temptation would be simply to lift censorship?

[Ligachev] I will begin with your last point. There are naturally rules which safeguard state secrets, but that is all. Questions relating to literary works are the prerogative of publishing houses and editors.

With regard to "excessive admiration," you know, we attach great importance to quality literary criticism in our society. Such criticism—kind but stringent—contributes to the progress of creative activity. The works to which you refer have been published recently. Initial assessments are sometimes superficial and hasty. Literary criticism will have time to study them, consider them in depth, and analyze their content in a kind and stringent way, primarily from the literary and artistic viewpoints. I am in favor of that approach.

Our society is a multifaceted society, in other words it is pluralist, if you wish to use that term. We have classes and social groups; we have more than 100 nations and ethnic groups; we have professional groups, and so forth. Each group has its own interests. Those interests are expressed particularly in the sphere of art and literature. That is the reason for their variety. If you talk about our writers, they express very varied, sometimes conflicting views. They adopt different styles. We regard such socialist pluralism as normal and useful. The development of literary criticism—and artistic criticism in general—does not hinder this process but contributes to its sound development.

[Interviewer] What place do you think restructuring holds in the USSR's historical development since 1917? Can the current movement be compared with other periods of Soviet history?

[Ligachev] Building socialism is a long series of transitions. Restructuring is one of those transitions—a well defined historical stage in our society's gradual advance. Essentially, because of its humanist social nature, restructuring is the direct continuation of the major achievements begun by our people under the party's leadership in October 1917. We can go even further than that. It is not just a continuation, but a new development and a deepening of the revolution's key ideas. Our task is to give socialism a new quality and, to achieve this end, to renew all aspects of society's life, both material and intellectual.

It is sometimes said that ideology hinders restructuring and is almost a curb on the process of change. In fact, it is one of the driving forces of the process which has been started. It is Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary dialectic which have helped to shape our party's present strategy. The key aspect of restructuring is the democratization of society—a democratization which, as we understand it, means the masses' energetic participation in running society and the state. This approach stems directly from the fundamental principle of Marxist-Leninist ideology relating to the decisive role of the people's masses in history.

The Optimum Combination of Democracy and Centralism [subhead]

Essentially, restructuring is the most important stage in the country's development after October. It is not easy, but it opens up extremely rich prospects for us.

[Interviewer] The reform of the enterprises' status aims to give them greater autonomy, but the principle of centralization has not been questioned. This is not the first time in the USSR's recent history that there has been talk of autonomy for the enterprises, but each time priority has been given to centralization. What guarantee is there that the same will not happen in the present reform?

[Ligachev] Let us make things clear immediately: Both now and in the past the running of the state and economic management in our country have been based on the principle of democratic centralism. However, the correlation between democracy and centralism is changing. We think that the essential thing is to respect a good relationship between the two sides of democratic centralism, while bearing in mind that the emphasis must be shifted to the appropriate side during various stages of our development.

We do not want to undermine the center's role, because that would deprive us of the great advantages of a planned economy. But, in the present context, the functioning of the central bodies must be centered on the essential strategies, the exploitation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and so forth. Direct economic work is entrusted to the enterprises and groups of enterprises.

You are right, previous attempts to reorganize the management system did not produce the desired result: We did not have enough persistence in implementing them. Today, the guarantee of success is the fact that we have started with the main component of the Soviet economy, namely the law on public enterprises which will come into force from 1 January 1988. It is this law, which gives the enterprises broad autonomy and which enshrines the principles of profitability and self-financing, thus giving the workers' collectives wide-ranging rights, which is the starting point for restructuring in the economic management sphere. We are sure that this time we have found the optimum combination of democracy and centralism in the economy, which corresponds to the present state of society and the aim of developing it.

The Alma-Ata Events [subhead]

[Interviewer] Are you in favor of extending the use of secret ballots in the election of party officials at all levels, and do you not think that the policy of "mixing cadres" might be opposed by the citizens, especially in some of the USSR's republics?

[Ligachev] You do not seem to understand our situation clearly enough. Secret ballots have been used in our country for a long time for the election of party officials. Now, as we are preparing for the party's national conference which will take place next summer, we are wondering how we can improve democratic procedures, especially in the party. We are convinced that the party must set an example for the democratic running of society as a whole. The results of the work we are carrying out will be an important step toward improving the rules and forms of party life.

We have never intended to "mix cadres" and are not planning to do so. A natural process of replacing people is following its course: Unfortunately people grow old. In some cases, as in any society, we have to replace people who are not fulfilling their function. But we emphasize the education of cadres, in order to help each of them to carry out his responsibilities. We regard the fact that the party has trained a large number of competent, highly qualified people who support our cause as our most important achievement. The democratization of the party's internal life will help the Communists to elect worthy candidates to positions of responsibility in complete freedom and in the context of openness.

[Interviewer] What we understood by mixing cadres was the sending of Russian leaders to non-Russian republics such as Kazakhstan, for instance.

[Ligachev] A large number of nationalities coexist within this republic, the largest of them being Russian; but there are dozens of other nationalities. In each republic there are three important functions—the responsibilities of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium. In Kazakhstan the first is Russian, the other two Kazakh.

Efforts are made to observe a certain proportion and this is very clearly perceived by the populations.

The cause of the events in Alma Ata was not the fact that a Russian was sent there. The cause went much deeper—a violation of the cadres policy, since all the posts of responsibility were held by Kazakhs, which was regarded with astonishment by the Kazakhs themselves. Moreover the population suffered many injustices and when the new leader arrived those who enjoyed their power felt threatened and engineered these events.

[Interviewer] For what faults do you blame Boris Yeltsin, the former Moscow party first secretary? Is it true that he criticized Mr Gorbachev or you?

[Ligachev] I doubt whether we should talk in terms of blame. Comrade Yeltsin—whom, for that matter, I, together with other comrades, recommended for the post of Moscow party committee first secretary—proved unequal to his responsibilities. True, to start with he did many good things but then he was confronted with tasks that he was unable to perform. This was discussed in detail at the city party committee plenum that relieved him of his duties.

Politics is an activity demanding a sense of responsibility, an activity that demands precisely such an approach. In fact he was criticized, among other things, for his attempts to resolve problems by means of "mixing cadres." As I have said, this is not our method. Comrade Yeltsin is now a minister of the USSR and deals with matters of construction.

Yeltsin's Self-Criticism [subhead]

[Interviewer] Why is Mr Yeltsin's 21 October plenum speech, which lay behind this entire affair, not published for the sake of "openness?"

[Ligachev] We have many plenums whose proceedings are not published. Yeltsin was elected Moscow first secretary by the Moscow organization's plenum and it was not the October plenum that decided on his dismissal. It was the Moscow committee, and all the speeches there have been published

[Interviewer] Not his 21 October speech, however.

[Ligachev] It is unnecessary to publish it insofar as it duplicates what he said in Moscow.

[Interviewer] Did he make his self-criticism at the October plenum?

[Ligachev] Definitely. He actually spoke twice.

[Interviewer] Was the self-criticism in his first or second speech?

[Ligachev] Anyone who has lived in Moscow for some years will know that it was in his second speech. (laughter—*Le Monde* editor's note)

[Interviewer] Do you believe that the USSR's history should be subjected to a total and challenging reappraisal or do you believe that very clear limits must be set to prevent the questioning of the past from impinging on all CPSU leaders?

[Ligachev] You know, history must not be revised: What has happened, has happened. We are reappraising not history but the way in which it has been portrayed; we are eliminating the "gaps" that have occurred in the past. The limits to this questioning are very clearly defined, namely, historical truth.

It is essential for us to restore the whole truth—I repeat, the whole truth—in order to learn its lessons for the future.

Many of the problems and difficulties that we are having to face now are rooted in the past. To avoid repeating mistakes and to avoid superfluous complications it is our duty to properly identify both the reasons for our successes and the causes of our failures. Restructuring is a lesson in truth. But the truth about the present cannot be complete without the truth about the past.

[Interviewer] In your opinion, what attitude should the party's current leadership adopt to history, particularly in connection with the Stalinist period and the purges of the thirties? How is the committee created by the Politburo in November 1987 for the rehabilitation of the victims of those purges composed, and what are its activities?

[Ligachev] I have already replied in part to this question. I could add a few more points.

Our approaches to history, including the thirties, are stated in Mikhail Gorbachev's report, "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues", approved by the CPSU Central Committee's October plenum. We have clearly announced that the arbitrary activity and orgy of illegality of the thirties had nothing in common with the principles of socialism or the rules established by the 1936 constitution. The leadership team of the time bears the responsibility for it. We can neither forget nor pardon the tragic events of the thirties. The Central Committee Politburo has established a commission to examine all aspects of those events and new and existing documents relating to these matters. Appropriate decisions will be adopted following the commission's investigation. Have a little patience and you will hear them.

[Interviewer] The Poles have just rejected in a referendum the reforms proposed by the government. Do you not fear a similar opposition in the USSR to economic reforms that could have a negative impact on living standards, at least initially?

[Ligachev] The restructuring process is not an easy path but I can assure you that the workers' social protection will be ensured. Of course when the reform of our economy comes into effect in January—when 60% of output will come from enterprises governed by the rules of self-financing and when everyone will be paid on the basis of profits—some workers will be released in certain sectors for transfer to other sectors.

The Politburo recently examined a number of material compensations for those who will have to change jobs. However, socialist society means ensuring not only material prosperity but also guaranteed employment.

[Interviewer] Will you introduce a price rise?

[Ligachev] Definitely. We are unanimous on this point. However, talks with experts are continuing to establish when and to what extent. Be that as it may, compensations will be envisaged for the less affluent—pensioners, for instance.

[Interviewer] Are you considering a referendum in the USSR?

[Ligachev] No. Neither closely nor remotely.

Struggle Against Alcoholism [Subhead]

[Interviewer] You were one of the main champions of the anti-alcohol campaign. Are you not afraid that it has been taken too far and that the restructuring has encouraged the clandestine manufacture and sale of low-quality alcohol?

[Ligachev] I am still a champion of the anti-alcohol campaign. We cannot be said to have done everything yet. Significant results have been achieved but we must continue the fight, including the fight against the clandestine manufacture of low-quality alcoholic drinks, which has unfortunately gone on in our country for a long time. It is important to convince people, to encourage sobriety as a way of life, using the force of public opinion and the law. We want a society healthy in all respects. I believe that this humanitarian objective must be supported—by you too.

Yakovlev Addresses Media, Culture Conference

PM031554 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Working, Thinking, and Taking Responsibility"]

[Text] A conference of leaders of central and republican mass information media and science and culture workers was held at the CPSU Central Committee on 1 December, to discuss questions of their work in the new stage of the restructuring, in the conditions of the development of the processes of democratization and cardinal economic reform.

The conference participants were addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said, in particular:

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution emphasized the significance of the present revolution, the aim of which is to raise socialism to a new level of development. It emphasized the underlying meaning of the restructuring, its irreversibility, the complexity of its tasks, and the extent of the responsibility we have taken on.

This year is tinged with a very close interweaving, interaction of the past, present, and future. The atmosphere of the intensive Leninist quest in which socialism was born has become especially close and accessible to us. In the hall of the Palace of Congresses we felt the twenties and the eighties to be a single, indivisible whole.

This year is marked by the creation of the ideological and theoretical concept of restructuring, in the main. The January and June plenums of the CPSU Central Committee made an enormous and in many respects unprecedented contribution to the theory and practice of socialism in our country.

The political highlight of the year was the November celebrations in Moscow and M.S. Gorbachev's report at the 2 November ceremonial session. The report put the restructuring in broad sociohistorical perspective, linked today's processes to their origins and roots in the past, and demonstrated the internal and international prospects of Soviet society.

What are we taking with us into the new stage of the restructuring? We have the platform of the restructuring. An atmosphere of readiness to accelerate the country's forward movement has been created. The ideological condition of society is healthy. Enormous developments in the international aspects of restructuring are in evidence. The necessary theoretical and political groundwork is present, in the form of party and state documents. All this is on the credit side for the restructuring.

But there is also a debit side. Stagnation and conservatism have thus far surrendered only their first fortifications. Very many minefields from the past still lie ahead. We have already experienced in practice the dialectics of restructuring and its own contradictions. We have seen how conservatism and vanguardism—those particularly perfidious enemies of healthy development—sneak up on the restructuring.

Herein lie the contradictions of the present stage of the restructuring, which have a strong, marked effect on spiritual processes too. These contradictions do not lie solely in the complexity or novelty of the tasks. They also lie in the fact that during the years of stagnation some people forgot, some were taught to forget, and some never even managed to learn the three most important human qualities: working, thinking, and taking responsibility.

It is in this sense that we talk of the normalization of society. This normalization must not be seen solely as a matter of ridding ourselves of crime, corruption, deception, thriftlessness, shoddy work, drunkenness, and so forth. Such phenomena should not exist anyway—with or without the restructuring.

We should, we must see the normalization of society in a much more profound way: as the strict assertion in life of the cult of labor, the cult of thinking and common sense, and the cult of responsibility. Society needs this so that it can move forward, so that it can finally and irreversibly cast off the stupefying effects of self-satisfaction and complacency. Every person needs this as the basis of his sense of his own dignity, as the necessary foundation for a real, genuine life in which moral narcotics will have no attraction. Asserting these qualities is the supreme meaning and purpose of the restructuring, its humanist content.

What the restructuring needs least of all is praise, flattery, and uncritical perception. Many people, from old habit, entered into its initial period in a spirit of readiness for any campaign, based on inertia. In this respect the last 2 and 1/2 years have been very instructive and have been a kind of time filter separating the inertia of the talking-shop from the hard-won, difficult path to restructuring.

But times have changed. Now it is necessary to be especially cautious in our attitudes to the accumulated experience of restructuring, and above all the experience of democratization and glasnost; to be tolerant of individual quests, to support successes, to accustom ourselves to the unusual, not to try to be judges of everything. It is necessary to learn to respect the opponent, not to regard him as necessarily a malicious plotter trying to loosen the screws that hold socialism together. This means learning to restructure in our ideological workshop too, learning to live and work in conditions of democracy, not in words, but in deeds.

The fate of the restructuring is determined by two key avenues—the democratization of all public life and cardinal economic reform. The peculiarity of this stage lies in their inseparability, their unity. The sought-for new quality will be obtained only from an integral, organic interweaving of both these avenues, with the process of democratization drawing support from the cardinal reform of the economy and finding strength in the newly aroused interest of the working people, while the economy, in turn, feels the stimulating effects of democratization.

The problem of opposition to the restructuring is frequently oversimplified—both in the common awareness and in the press. Yes, there is resistance to the restructuring from those who are prepared to sacrifice any of society's interests, goals, and values to their own selfishness, to purely personal claims. But as far as they are concerned, everything is quite clear, so to speak.

An extremely strong force among us is the conservatism of inertia, the conservatism of a quiet life, habit, self-satisfaction. Ask people like that: Are they against restructuring? No, they vote "for" it with both hands. But when it comes to action, the old stereotypes prevail in their thinking and their work.

The real battle of contradictions in people's consciousness and activity, in society's life, is not taking place over the question "for or against restructuring." The question is a different one: "For what kind of restructuring."

In this connection tremendous attention must be paid to the warning we heard in M.S. Gorbachev's report—on conservatism, which has a capacity for revanche, and on pseudorevolutionary vanguardism, which is capable not of advancing us, but of setting us back, whatever ultra-restructuring slogans it may hide behind. It is necessary to know exactly and study carefully: What, in present-day conditions, are the social roots of these phenomena, what, in general, are the characteristics of their existence and operation in the conditions of the socialist society.

Politically and in practice, the most important dividing line now is the line between those who advocate a really radical restructuring, a renewal of social forms and social relations such that it will open up wide prospects for the country, for socialism, for a long time to come; and those who advocate unhurried improvements, the partial modernization of what we have, but who are afraid, unwilling, or unable to accept radical transformations.

But in the conditions of socialism you can only combat conservatism, feigned vanguardism, and negative phenomena with a combination of the democratic process and the establishment in society of the kind of relations, the kind of organization in the economy, politics, and culture that will ensure that the system itself stimulates healthy phenomena, healthy development. The rejection of the unacceptable must take place only on the basis of glasnost and democracy, through the people, through the public. There is no other way.

An extraordinary amount depends on the press. It must, as M.S. Gorbachev said, strengthen its militant mood and find a second wind. What is required of the mass information media now is, first and foremost, competence on the most important questions of society's life, of the restructuring. You cannot tackle the topic of democratization in conjunction with the problems of cardinal economic reform just like that, with no preparation. Economic accountability, self-capitalization, and self-financing are complex processes which require broad knowledge on the part of the journalist and editor. Economic accountability is the key problem of the economy today. The tasks of the mass media arise from this.

The wealth of our inner life, our views and opinions, should be reflected in the pages of the press. Many are having to find their readership from scratch, so to speak, to find their own ways of talking to the reader, their own face. For some these processes are proceeding successfully, others are having more difficulty. It is not surprising that now, in the advanced stage of restructuring, there may be some regrouping among the publications in the vanguard of the restructuring.

Time is passing. What was forbidden is now becoming boring. What looked shocking, sensational, and unusual is now no longer so. The thinking, serious reader is beginning to pay more and more attention not only to theme and form, but also to content. That is why M.S. Gorbachev spoke of the need for a second wind in the press.

Glasnost is a firm line and the Central Committee does not intend to turn aside from it. We will continue to defend journalists most resolutely against unjustified accusations and persecutions. But the time has come to speak with the utmost frankness and honesty about another aspect of the problem. It has recently happened too frequently that the journalists' low standard of professional competence, carelessness and unscrupulousness in preparing material, and tendency to work in a slipshod manner lead to blows being struck, in effect, against glasnost and restructuring. Accuracy, as you know, is not a virtue, but a duty for the journalist. A knowledge of the facts, a knowledge of the subject you are writing about is the cornerstone of any article.

The restructuring has markedly galvanized people into action, and a persistent, collective quest is under way. Many publications and television programs have long been presenting meaningful stories about the foremen of the restructuring. Some do this more regularly, others less regularly. But not infrequently the prevailing tone is one of enthusiastic description of an individual.

It is necessary to say good things about people and note good results. But it is even more important now to show specifically how all this is achieved. We have very many people in all sectors who wholeheartedly want to work in the new way, but simply do not know how. They do not need agitation in favor of the restructuring, they need teaching. Stimulate their thoughts, give them the necessary information, tell them frankly about the difficulties that lie in store, the ways and means of overcoming these difficulties. This is now a great social need.

Another new topic, for us, that is now gaining particular significance is that of the forms and methods of combating criticism. Those who go in for suppressing criticism are also restructuring themselves and becoming more sophisticated, while the "science" of curbing and suppressing criticism is becoming more precise. They have grown accustomed to criticism and glasnost, they have already developed immunity to it. A kind of natural selection has taken place: The suppressors of criticism have become smarter, more persistent, shrewder. If necessary, they themselves will support criticisms. Of course, this changes nothing—suppression is suppression.

This is a very fundamental question. One way or another it reflects and refracts the concrete positions, concrete attitudes of party committees and economic and other bodies to the press, to the working people's views, to the restructuring in general. At a fundamental level there is only one answer to this: Weakening criticism, stopping it, means weakening and stopping the restructuring and creating the prerequisites for the emergence of stagnation phenomena. But it is clearly necessary also to seek new forms, means, and methods in making criticisms too—without, of course, renouncing the tried and tested forms. The suppressors of criticism can be unmasked and exposed in only one way—by pointing to practical results.

Working people's letters are an enormous reserve for the press. There has been a marked increase in the proportion of letters containing analyses, letters containing ideas, letters raising problems and questions for discussion. This is a vast intellectual potential which should be placed at the service of the restructuring, of the people! We must not be afraid of their internal contradictoriness or awkward corners.

Readers' letters are also an effective weapon against social demagoguery. We have more than enough of that. Demagoguery is a very easy game. Going in for crude denunciations and hunting for scapegoats takes neither effort nor intelligence. It needs neither substantial knowledge, nor real skill, nor profound mental or spiritual effort. It needs none of this, either on the part of the demagogue himself, or on the part of those who are prepared to listen to his inflammatory sermons. Demagoguery today is a special form of social hysteria.

It is necessary to see this and not to succumb to deceptive exhortations of "restructuring" which have nothing behind them except the frenzied desire to take all the best from society in the biggest possible helpings, without giving a penny back, and to feed parasitically, with impunity, on people's labor, feelings, and intellect, on socialism.

A.N. Yakovlev went on to dwell on questions of the role of party organizations in the next, critical stage of the restructuring, on the threshold of preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. He stressed that all the threads of the restructuring are today converging, in essence, on the party committees and primary party organizations, and the hardest burden of work rests on their shoulders.

However, we cannot yet say that the press is providing a large-scale picture of the party's leading role in the restructuring. Neither the best experience of party work nor its typical shortcomings are shown sufficiently. It is no secret that in a number of cases primary party organizations, which are called upon to be the political nucleus, the generator of the restructuring in the labor collectives, operate sluggishly, stand aside from tackling many questions, prefer not to get involved in complex situations, and live in the old way.

The greatest attention should now be paid to the activity of primary party organizations and their committees. Not with a view to uncovering shortcomings and imperfections, but in order to get to the bottom of the practicalities: Here is a success, these are its components, and here is a failure and its causes. These are the real—rather than imaginary—problems that come up today.

A.N. Yakovlev dwelt on the significance of moral principles, moral and ideological values in the processes of restructuring and shaping the Soviet way of life. Economic accountability, he noted, is capable of much, it is necessary, the party will establish it in the economy, and establish it persistently. But we cannot shift the full burden of life onto economic accountability. Man cannot live by bread alone. Socialism needs a very rich arsenal of social influence on the individual, and the individual on society. Economic means are a necessary part, but not the only part of that arsenal. Science, press, and the arts should probably think about this more frequently. Draw the public's attention to this question more frequently, offer constructive proposals. The question of morality is a fundamental question of the restructuring. Without the spiritual side, there is no restructuring.

We must in general—in science, art, journalism, in all our social awareness—learn persistently and purposefully to do away with extremes. Dialectics show unequivocally that real life is woven out of contradictions. They can only be overcome by means that take this contradictoriness into account and see it in all its fullness, internal complexity, wealth, and diversity.

Why does it have to be: "either—or"? Either the plan, or the market. Either internationalism, or patriotism. Either rock music, or folk poetry. Either democracy, or discipline. And so forth—there are endless examples. Not "either—or," but "both—and." We cannot live at the extremes, dashing from one impasse into another. Apart from anything else, this is also fraught with the danger of serious disruptions to society's spiritual health and the undermining of its sociopsychological equilibrium.

The quest for, and defense of, simple common sense is urgently needed everywhere. This too is restructuring. It is necessary to cultivate this quality, this capacity in people—without it there will be no real mutual tolerance, no democracy, no getting rid of the tens of thousands of minor and small-minded "Bonapartists" and "personality cultists," representatives of the arrogant race and the tribe of reptiles, who eat away at society and hamper its progress more severely than all the shortages and shortcomings put together.

The practice of restructuring can only be fruitful if it hones itself in the struggle of passions and opinions. This too is a sign of the fruitful diversity of Soviet society's spiritual life. This diversity may include weeds and barren flowers. But they are no reason to restrict diversity itself as a form of life.

The atmosphere of artistic and creative life has changed markedly in our country, and changed for the better. We have managed to remove much that was hampering and retarding normal development and the emergence in the public field of talented people and new generations. In just over 2 years we have acquired a broader and truer view of culture and its social function in the process of society's renewal.

Society's attention has recently been focused more and more frequently on phenomena and processes that are connected in one way or another with national self-awareness. Its growth is a natural, normal, healthy process!

But in our society patriotism and internationalism are values which cannot exist without each other. What is international is not antinational. Nor must it be confused with bourgeois cosmopolitanism, just as the distinction between national pride and nationalism should not be lost. Loving your people means marching with them along the difficult upward path. But that is inseparable from collaboration with other peoples, cooperation with them, and mutual spiritual enrichment. Incarceration in the vaults of narrowminded arrogance is a sure sign of impoverishment of spirit and thought.

Socialism has an interest in fully revealing the spiritual and cultural potentialities of every nation, every people, on a common ideological and philosophical basis. The time has come, today, for constructive ideas and proposals on how to realize more fully the prerequisites created by socialism for the flourishing of all national cultures and their rapprochement and unity.

One of the most important characteristics in which the restructuring is manifested and which influences all its spiritual aspects is the unprecedentedly close and multifaceted interweaving of the processes of domestic and international life. In this context Comrade A.N. Yakovlev dwelt in detail on the significance of the theoretical study and coverage in the mass media of the whole range of questions raised by the need to assert the new political thinking and by the realities of the modern world, as well as those arising from the USSR's foreign policy initiatives.

A.N. Yakovlev said in conclusion: The restructuring process is developing and gathering speed, although it is not a simple process. Manifestations of social apathy and indifference are still encountered. However, the changes are making people take a new look at their own role in the country's destiny. The political and psychological atmosphere has changed for the better, changed beyond recognition. The best works of science, journalism, literature, theater, and cinema have responded actively to the ideas of the April plenum and the 27th congress.

Today there is no lack of good words about the press, but the demands on it are also increased by the very pace of the transformations. On opening the latest issues of newspapers and journals, we turn first of all to the articles and letters about the restructuring—how many intelligent people with breadth of vision the country has found, what a keen sense of responsibility there is for the past and present, what businesslike proposals are being made, what a high level social responsibility has attained.

In a word, the new stage of the restructuring means, first and foremost, demands on everyone. In all respects—personal, professional, civic. And that will be a concrete expression of party-mindedness, the highest, most valuable contribution to the restructuring, to renewal, to socialism.

Taking part in the conference were chiefs of departments and other senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

Solomentsev Visits Livestock Farm, Museum

LD021139 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today Comrade Solomentsev paid a visit to the "Rossiya" state pedigree livestock farm in Sosnovskiy Rayon. This is the first farm in the South Urals which has exceeded the 5,000 [units not specified] mark for milk yields per cow. [passage omitted] Mikhail Sergeyevich was shown the cow Rossiyanka, which recently set a new all-union record in milk output. In 355 days it yielded more than 19 tonnes of milk. Rossiyanka's record daily yield is 82.5 liters.

In a conversation with specialists and workers at the stage pedigree livestock farm Mikhail Sergeyevich Solomentsev devoted attention mainly to the fulfillment of the food program. Rural workers in the oblast, he stressed, should put much more effort into providing sufficient foodstuffs to the industrial centers in the South Urals. There are real possibilities in the absolute majority of farms for increasing greatly the production of livestock produce. Tasks relating to enhancing the productivity of livestock raising through further improving the organization of work, improving the upkeep of animals and the sensible use of fodder were discussed.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Solomentsev also visited the ancient Urals town of Kasli today. [passage omitted] Mikhail Sergeyevich visited an exhibition of Kasli decorative molding from pig iron. He acquainted himself with an exhibition at a museum of battle and labor glory at a works. A meeting took place between Comrade Solomentsev and war and labor veterans. Mikhail Sergeyvich was interested in the organization of trade, the medical services for the population, the development of municipal services, the provision of amenities, and housing construction.

Belgorod Obkom Plenum Fields Criticism

*PM021001 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
26 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent V. Lyashenko report under the rubric "Report on Restructuring Is on the Agenda": "In the Firing Line. Notes From the Belgorod CPSU Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Belgorod—It happens rarely and, to be frank, I cannot ever recall the members of a party obkom bureau referring to an obkom plenum the question... of themselves. Of how, where, and why each of them, each of them personally, is not performing well, and of where he "is not up to snuff," so to speak.

I'm sure you'll agree, such an agenda, when the personal records of each bureau member and each secretary, including the first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, are examined in detail, cannot help first prompting thoughts about a certain exclusiveness, even extravagance about such an action... Yes, of course, it's restructuring... Yes, it's the search for new forms of party work... But all the same...

After long doubts and reflection the Belgorod CPSU Obkom adopted precisely this way of holding its plenum, one of the many now being held throughout the country at which raykoms, obkoms, kraykoms, and republican Central Committees are discussing their work to lead restructuring.

I think there are reasons for the harsh formulation of the question in the Belgorod party organization. We know that not so long ago Belgorod's reputation was suddenly tarnished. *Sovetskaya Rossiya* revealed in detail what went on here... Corruption, bribery, and nepotism affecting the highest echelons of power, that now familiar style whereby hospitality meant banquets, an exchange of experience meant snacks of black caviar, an awkward customer was fired with a twitch of the chief's eyebrow, and blind allegiances and endless toadyism were honored. In short, the party organization paid a very high price for deviating from Leninist principles of cadre work.

"Yes, this is our headache," Obkom First Secretary A. Ponomarev said. "But it looks as though it has more or less subsided now."

Of course, it has subsided. Nonetheless, the particularly close attention paid to the new leaders is a daily reminder of it. And, more than ever before, the entire oblast's attention was riveted on this present plenum.

But the party obkom itself ensured that more attention would be paid "than ever before." The very slogan under which preparations for the plenum took place was unusual: "We ourselves are in the firing line." At first people fidgeted in bewilderment with the questionnaires which each party member, each activist could fill in to say anonymously everything that he thought about his raykom first secretary, his rayispolkom chairman, and any member of the party obkom bureau, including the first secretary. *Belgorodskaya Pravda* published in advance, almost a month ahead of the plenum, the main points of the plenum report, which, among other things, contained another call to speak out on the essence of the main problems of life and to criticize without respect of persons, so to speak.

A responsible step, it must be admitted. And a cleansing one, if I may so express it. "We are not hiding anything from anyone, the time of backstage decisions, the time of truth for a small circle is gone, never to return, this is what we are like, and we really want to know how you see us today and how you would like to see us"—this is the sense of the discussion to which the party obkom invited the oblast's entire party aktiv and all the working people.

Did the discussion work out? After all, such a turn "toward personalities" invariably presupposes certain sorts of problem and a danger of lapsing, for example, into a primitive shouting match, a settling of personal scores, and rampant irresponsible carping. The danger existed, they anticipated it and prepared to greet it fittingly by the well known old popular method of separating the wheat from the chaff. But the first "harvest" during the preparatory, pre-plenum phase, that is, the numerous letters and answers to the questionnaire which poured in to the party obkom, gorkoms, raykoms, and *Belgorodskaya Pravda*, showed that people had not misunderstood the openness and trust proposed in the discussion. That the obvious vulnerability and defenselessness of the oblast leaders expressed in the principle "we ourselves are in the firing line" should not be dishonestly abused. An indicative fact is that the flood of letters contained far fewer anonymous letters than expected in the light of the recent deplorable revelations.

Jumping ahead, I will say that the plenum unanimously supported a proposal to end the edginess caused by anonymous letters by a simple and clear method: ceasing to react to them and not accepting them. It instructed the Belgorod delegation to put forward this proposal at the 19th All-Union Party Conference...

But what about the plenum itself, its main proceedings, so to speak? It took place in a round hall with huge windows through which sunlight came streaming in. There were roving microphones in the hall, as at a television debate. There were no limitations on the number of speakers. You could speak "with notes" but preferably without them. By the way, most speakers abandoned their "notes" after the first words—speaking from a written text in no way fitted in with this atmosphere.

The first and main salvo was against the party obkom secretaries' style of work. The sorest point was found here swiftly and precisely—the surprising tenacity in the secretariat's work of patriarchal party customs whereby the secretary, vested with authority, extends this authority to literally all spheres of life, including the economic sphere. On this question, for example, N. Miroshnichenko, leader of the Rovenskiy rayon organization, gave the secretaries a real "roasting," naming names. Listen to this: "You, comrade bureau members, have turned with our connivance into excellent supply personnel, foremen, and fixers. What are you for economic managers today? A bogeyman for their subordinates. Your authority is a lever for putting pressure on the negligent. But it does not work anymore..."

Or this—addressed to the obkom second secretary: "You, Viktor Mitrofanovich, spend all your time with construction workers. Joking apart, they now seriously regard you as subcontracted to them. But you are primarily a political leader."

The plenum asserted: Each bureau member, and particularly certain specific comrades, should resolutely end petty tutelage and the supplanting of economic managers, and all Communists in leadership positions should fundamentally rethink their role as the oblast's political vanguard during the second stage of restructuring.

New methods. New approaches. A new work style. How, in what specific form, where? The thing to do is to gradually accumulate and generalize experience... For instance, experiments were held—and how well this turned out—whereby people were nominated for the highest economic posts in labor collectives. Why not expand this and make it the norm? Another successful innovation—newspapers announce in advance the upcoming election of a party committee secretary or ispolkom chairman: Discuss it and make proposals! And what about sociological surveys in collectives to identify natural leaders? They produce a success rate of almost 100% in the choice of leader!

But first let's hear about the work style of the oblast headquarters, the party obkom and the oblispolkom. "Comrade Garmashov (obkom secretary), you assemble your subordinates about current business three times a day and harass them endlessly. Please stop working only according to instructions and in the name of the first secretary, you yourself have enough powers... When will the Propaganda Department (Comrade Gerasimov) finally begin to properly supply the oblast party aktiv with the necessary information about restructuring and with work experience acquired in grassroots collectives? Has the department gone to sleep?"

"It is quite impossible to see from our oblispolkom's work whether restructuring is under way or not. How sluggish the apparatus is! There is the same old administration by decree and stage management... The CPSU Central Committee adopted two resolutions on the development of collective horticulture. What did our oblast soviet do about it? The ispolkom did not lift a finger, it reduced everything to conferences, to a talking shop..."

The following was also heard in the hall:

"What kind of behavior is it, Ivan Ivanovich, to get people out of bed at 1 in the morning and begin lecturing them?"

"The survey puts it quite correctly—every time you talk to somebody he goes away offended..."

So the discussion did indeed keep on switching to "personalities." But, we repeat, this was intended—the discussion was about the personal participation of bureau members and oblast leaders in restructuring and their personal restructuring. So it was about not only professional qualities but character traits as well. Habits, tastes, and manners...

How did the "personalities" themselves react to this personal criticism? At the plenum even Obkom First Secretary Aleksey Filippovich Ponomarev came in for plenty of criticism. Here are excerpts from some of the speeches.

N. Miroshnichenko, first secretary of the Rovenskiy CPSU Raykom: "I won't deny that it hurt to hear myself reproached for an imperious style of work and excessive toughness. After all, you think you are sparing no effort and the results are there to be seen, but people turn out to be dissatisfied. This is probably correct—today subordinates should not be spurred on with the whip, as happens in our work. This is certainly food for thought..."

V. Gorokhov, first secretary of the Ivnyanskiy CPSU Raykom: "More than 10 criticisms have been made against me. I tell myself to grin and bear it. I'll try not to get offended. There's no denying—democracy and glasnost are gathering strength. I must be patient."

A. Ponomarev, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom: "Having heard what the comrades have said, I must say that I myself am far from fully satisfied with the results of my work. I am not trying to duck the blame for the many omissions in the oblast. I do indeed personally oversee too much work, I dissipate my efforts, and because of this I omit to resolve important questions of party organizational, political, and ideological work. In short, I have to seriously restructure myself as well..."

The "women's question," if it can be so called, quite unexpectedly surfaced at the plenum and became the subject of lively discussion. Ye. Ilina, first secretary of the Sverdlovskiy party raykom, raised it when the discussion turned to the solicitous attitude toward cadres, to the fact that it is time to banish from the work style hectoring, browbeating, and harassment over trivialities:

"Male comrades, comrade bureau members! I think you have quite forgotten that there are two women among the raykom secretaries, you remember this once a year—we get a telephone call in March on Women's Day. The rest of the time all we hear is: Come on, let's have some action, stop putting silly ideas in people's heads!"

The obkom first secretary chipped in: "Yes, that's right—we are indebted to women. In general let's take a broader view. One-third of the oblast party organization consists of women. But how many leaders are women? Two women are raykom and gorkom secretaries. Two women are rayispolkom chairmen. Of the 214 kolkhoz chairmen, only 2 are women. Some kind of fateful number... Not one woman is an obkom secretary... I impose a ban on calling our women leaders at night to find out the reasons for economic shortcomings... What woman will endure this for long? With our style of work what woman will agree to become a leader?"

In short, the conversation was frank and the speakers were often uninhibited in their language, demanded specific answers to specific questions, and called things by their proper name. Extremely poor quality in construction... Disruption of contractual deliveries... Only 61% of the current year's housing construction plan fulfilled...

But the inhabitants of Belgorod also have something to be proud of, on a very important point related to restructuring. Go into any city food store, for example, and you will find something unexpected and, it must be confessed, uncharacteristic of the majority of RSFSR oblast centers—the choice of goods is richer than in Moscow and Leningrad stores. Sugar, butter, milk, kefir, sour milk, and yogurt... Two or three grades of meat (not from the cooperative), sausages, and smoked products... Fresh fish—carp and silver carp—always, at any time of day. "Has it been like this in Belgorod for long?" "No, only since May this year." Yes, for the first time this year some of the above-plan agricultural output was used to satisfy the oblast market in accordance with the government decision. There is not one loss-making kolkhoz or sovkhoz in the oblast today. The profitability level is 28%. The plans for the 1st 2 years of the 5-year plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule, which has made it possible to improve supplies so sharply, I would even say so miraculously.

Yes, full shelves in the stores are the best agitator for restructuring. After this you will understand why the party obkom was not afraid to hold a plenum-cum-report on the progress of restructuring that addressed "personalities." Because it has something to tell people about progress in the first stage of restructuring, and there is something to present "personally" to people.

The time is such that restructuring requires precisely personalities, and not only, so to speak, strong characters. The people of Belgorod have seen enough of the strong characters of some of their former leaders—willful, capricious, intolerant of other people's opinions, unrestrained in administrative passion, in ostentation, and in ambition. Today people want to count their leaders, rank them according to kindness, sincerity, love for people, and genuine rather than bogus professionalism. They want to know that their personality and the parameters of their personality match the scale of the affairs entrusted to them by the people. Major, state affairs.

Baykal Protesters Halt Pipeline Project

PM030935 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Sbitnev and TASS correspondent V. Khodiy report: "Baykal Cutting Which Divided the Positions of Irkutsk Oblast Local Soviets and the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry"—boldface as published]

[Text] Irkutsk—Things are troubled again on the shores of the "famous sea." Large crowds of people have started appearing in busy parts of Irkutsk—the commercial center and the "Gigant" Movie Theater. People have erected wooden boards in the snow with the words "Baykal Defense Post," set up information stands with newspaper extracts, and, clutching sheaves of papers, invited citizens to sign letters and appeals to party and soviet organs. "There are already 50,000 of us!" we read on one of the banners.

Last Sunday, with the full knowledge of the city authorities, the Baykal Protection Society arranged a well-attended rally on Constitution Square. War veterans, scientists, VUZ lecturers and students, writers, and workers spoke from an improvised rostrum. The rally participants adopted an open letter and petition on the current difficult situation with the fulfillment of the party and government resolution on Lake Baykal. Then, despite the considerable frost, hundreds of people marched through the city streets to the banks of the Angara chanting slogans and brandishing placards. Just a few months ago people collecting signatures in the area were considered virtual lawbreakers, while today party and soviet workers were in the same ranks as the demonstrators.

The rally voiced the idea that there can be no state interests that diverge from the people's interests and that the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Safeguard and Ensure the Rational Use of Natural Resources at Lake Baykal in 1987-1995" is obvious confirmation of that. It has become clear that state organs are launching a serious operation to save the pearl of Siberia and have blocked excessive departmental pride and interests. The newspaper *Vostochno-Sibirskaya Pravda* published the full text of the resolution, and the fulfillment of each of its points was placed under public control.

But the control, as life shows, needs to be vigilant. Time-servers from certain departments are prepared to torpedo nature protection measures at every opportunity. Irkutsk people are following the fate of the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine—one of the largest sources of water and air pollution—particularly closely. They are very interested in how the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry is preparing for the combine's planned conversion to furniture assembly production. After all, before this happens, similar pulp capacity will have been created in Ust-Ilimsk to replace the outgoing capacity.

Unfortunately, the changeover is going slowly. Hitherto the ministry has not set quotas for plan and contract work, financing has not been open, and an order to start work within the period laid down by the resolution has not even been drawn up together with the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

On the contrary, the department channeled all its efforts and might elsewhere; namely, into laying a 76 km pipeline to discharge the combine's effluent into the Irkut River—a tributary of the Angara. And the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry started doing this without waiting for either an ecological survey or planning documentation, and without coordinating it with the local soviets and supervisory nature conservancy organs. The first construction workers from Bashkiria and Western Siberia started to arrive in riverside settlements along with loggers from the surrounding forestry associations.

The authorities were flooded with inquiries about how this was possible. After all, the Slyudyanskiy Rayon Soviet, on whose territory the pipeline was to be laid, had not issued a land use authorization. Without it, according to the RSFSR Land Code, work could not be conducted—something of which everyone, from Combine Director V. Glazyrin to A. Senchenko, chief of the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry Capital Construction Administration, were very well aware. So just how did they manage to get the trees felled?

Local soviet deputies and specialists told us that the combine obtained felling permits from forestry officials for the destruction of almost 300 hectares of forest by using major coercion—phone calls from "superiors" and threatening telegrams and instructions. Later, when reports had to be delivered on what had been done—the felling of trees in the Bolshaya Osinovka River region—G. Soroka, department chief at the oblast forestry administration, shamefacedly wrote on the certificate that this clearing threatened no ecologically harmful consequences and would be covered with growth again in 2-3 years.

But the members of the Baykalsk City Soviet Nature Conservancy and Health Care Standing Commission had other ideas. Alarmed at this departmental arbitrariness, they published in a newspaper and sent to the authorities a letter insisting that work be stopped pending the ratification of the pipeline project and the completion of a definitive ecological survey. At the same time, deputies proposed that all Baykal local soviets and their populations be apprised of the results of the survey. At their sessions deputies from riverside cities and settlements unanimously opposed construction of the pipeline.

It was not only the deputies who sharply opposed the aggressive actions of the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry. Tens of thousands of signatures were collected for an appeal from the women of the Angara region demanding that Lake Baykal and the Irkut River—into which it is planned to discharge the pulp combine's effluent—be left alone. The inhabitants of the oblast had compelling arguments in their favor: The Irkut is the only warm-water river in this area. Towns and villages line its banks, dozens of pioneer camps and horticultural partnerships are located there, and many thousands of Siberians take their summer vacation in the area.

The Irkutsk party obkom set up a working party of scientists and national economic specialists headed by Academician N. Logachev and instructed it to make an objective assessment of the consequences and purposefulness of discharging the Baykalsk combine's effluent into the Irkut. The working party's conclusion was unambiguous: A major blow to the river's ecosystem would be unavoidable in the event of industrial effluent from the Baykalsk Pulp and Paper Combine being discharged into it. After all, even now the public health situation on the Angara below the mouth of the Irkut—where the Angarsk, Usolye-Sibirskiy, Cheremkhov, and Svirsk water inlets are located—is extremely unfavorable.

The pipeline is having a detrimental effect on the Irkut and will pass through very geologically active regions prone to avalanches and floods. Diverting the effluent in this way will, it seems, in no way resolve the problem of protecting Lake Baykal, since around half of the combine's pollutants will pass into the river through the air, filtration, and emergency overflow from sediment reservoirs and sludge pits. But why in that case spend so much money—and considerable sums at that? Although the cost of the pipeline was originally set at R80 million, it then became R100 million, and now a figure of R125 million is being talked about. And that does not include the considerable expenditure needed to operate it.

"We calculate," L. Platonov, first deputy chairman of Irkutsk Oblispolkom said, "that the acceleration of the combine's conversion and the strict observance of the norms governing harmful discharges will do considerably less damage to the environment and people than the construction of a pipeline. It is our opinion that the funds allocated for the pipeline would be better channeled into reducing harmful discharges in the Baykal area."

But the departmental offices, as ever, simply pay no attention to the voices of local authorities and the population. By mid-November loggers had hacked an almost 6 km cutting through the riverside taiga. We saw a depressing picture: Between the pure Babkha and Utulik Rivers which empty into the lake there were piles of trees of not only inferior varieties, but also age-old pines, spruces, and cedars. The construction workers managed to destroy everything: both the 2 km water conservation zone around Baykal and the 100-meter protective zone around the smaller rivers.

The hurried start to the work has led to a violation of the provisions relating to the protection of fishing stocks. L. Kalashnikova, state fisheries inspector for the rayon, explained to us:

"These two rivers are of prime fishing importance—they are spawning grounds. As, incidentally, are the 20 or so other rivers which the combine plans to intersect with the pipeline."

Together with Y. Prizentsova, deputy prosecutor at the West Baykal Interrayon Prosecutor's Office, our interlocutors compiled an official act relating to the violations of nature conservation legislation that they had discovered, and ordered combine director V. Glazyrin to carry out all work **solely on the basis of a coordinated plan and with permission** for so-called special use of water.

Since the combine, as is well known, has no special use to which water can be put, the illegality of the work is obvious to all. That is why the work on the pipeline has had to be suspended under pressure from public opinion. The loggers left the cutting 16 November and 2 days later the Irkutsk oblast office of the Industrial Construction Bank—as its administrator T. Tsarik reported—instructed that the financing of the construction project should also be suspended.

We then saw the dismayed faces of the explosives workers from Bashkiria. People temporarily huddled right beside the combine's walls with their railcars. Section Chief I. Kalkamanov reluctantly described what had happened:

"We brought in the necessary equipment and expensive machines—and everything has stopped."

The workers were more categorical:

"Why were we sent here? There's no work, no wages, and we've been twiddling our thumbs for 3 months. Who's responsible?"

That is a reasonable and topical question: Who is responsible for what has happened? Hundreds of tonnes of steel pipes were brought in, considerable expenditure laid out, and forests leveled. Out of whose pocket will the people be recompensed for their losses if it turns out that decisions were made far too hastily?

The cutting strewn with dead wood along the shores of Lake Baykal has clearly differentiated two positions and two approaches—that of the technocrats and that of the proprietors of this land. It is worth noting that even those who until recently were hesitating about whom to side with are now marching in the same ranks as the locals.

Refusenik Authorized To Emigrate

AU031613 Paris AFP in English 1607 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow, Dec 3 (AFP)—Soviet refuzenik Aleksandr Kholmianskiy and his family have been authorized to emigrate to Israel after authorities dropped demands that he present a document signed by his parents to say he has no debts, he said.

The refuzenik said next week's U.S.-Soviet summit in Washington was "probably not unrelated" to the decision to grant him an exit visa. He first applied in 1979.

Mr. Kholmianskiy, a computer engineer and former underground teacher of Hebrew, was sentenced to a year and a half in prison in February 1985.

He said he would pick up the visas in two weeks and emigrate in early January.

Exit Visas for Soviet Jews Increase

AU040946 Paris AFP in English 0917 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow, Dec 4 (AFP)—A dozen Soviet Jews and their families have been granted exit visas over the past few days allowing them to emigrate to Israel or to the United States, and several more could shortly join them, dissident sources said here Friday.

Judith Ratner, who was herself told Thursday she had been granted a visa, said the sudden surge was "obviously" connected with next week's Washington summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

But recent demonstrations by refuzniks and the handing in of lists of Jews denied the right to emigrate to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) also played a part, she added.

The Presidium set up a special commission a few months ago to review the situation of those Jews who had been refused the right to emigrate, often because they were deemed to hold "state secrets".

Mrs. Ratner said she was informed by a phone call from a senior official at the Visa Office (OVIR) that she would be allowed to leave for Israel.

"I didn't believe him, and I asked him to repeat it several times," she said.

Mrs. Ratner said she would probably be leaving in two months' time with eight members of her family.

Among others authorized to emigrate figure Aleksandr Ioffe, a mathematician, and Pavel Abramovich, an engineer, who applied for exit visas in 1977 and 1971 respectively, but had been refused them because they were said to hold "state secrets".

During the first 10 months of this year 6,340 Jews have been allowed to leave the Soviet Union, compared to 914 during the whole of 1986, according to a Western tally.

Sociologist Zaslavskaya on Restructuring

AU021449 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian, Oktomvriyska Svetlina supplement, 1 Dec 87, pp 1,2

[Interview with Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, chairman of the Sociological Association under the USSR Academy of Sciences, by N. Nikitin: "Our Conviction, Perseverance, and Struggle!"—in supplement published jointly with NOVOSTI; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Nikitin] The Soviet newspapers often publish letters from readers who think that restructuring is developing slowly, especially at the different places "at the bottom."

[Zaslavskaya] I have also heard this view, but I have also heard the converse, namely that the changes are being made with excessive haste, that decisions affecting the interests of hundreds of millions of people are being taken without enough careful consideration, without first conducting preliminary experiments or broad polls. There is a grain of truth in the arguments. However, in my view the very existence of contrary opinions about the rates of restructuring demonstrates that it is proceeding normally. If development was too fast, there would be a risk of breaking the link between the administrative decisions and their two rear echelons, the scientific and the social. By the scientific rear echelon I mean the scientific argumentation in support of each of the measures adopted, and, if necessary, experimental testing. By the social rear echelon I mean the profound, lucid realization by the broadest masses of the people of the need for these measures.

[Nikitin] Who, in your opinion, will gain from restructuring?

[Zaslavskaya] The whole of Soviet society, which is awakening before our very eyes from deep, heavy slumber. The acceleration of economic and social development is necessary for all people who have the chance of making their lives more vivid, dynamic, and full of content than the previous generations. But the youth, who feel most acutely the repression of initiative, have the most to gain, more than anyone else. Young people will be able to work more effectively and independently, and will be able to live in a more modern, interesting, and comfortable manner. Those people will also have much to gain who at present are unjustifiably deprived of their due, such as many groups of specialists, workers in the nonproduction sphere, and the inhabitants of the country's eastern regions.

[Nikitin] And who in this case will be the loser?

[Zaslavskaya] I think that restructuring is of the least benefit to the excessively developed administrative apparatus, a considerable portion of which at present not only has no useful functions, but even causes harm to the economy by its incompetent interference. At the same time most of these cadres have the benefit of many advantages and privileges as compared to the people they manage. A certain section of the workers are fully adapted to the condition of hopelessly inefficient management and feel comfortable in this state, knowing that they will receive their pay irrespective of the results. It is natural for them not to feel any enthusiasm for the new.

[Nikitin] What, in your opinion, is the present balance of forces between the supporters and opponents of restructuring?

Sociological studies made in different regions and towns in the country show that, taken overall, the balance is to the advantage of the supporters of restructuring. Their numbers are gradually growing, and people are joining their ranks who until now had no definite opinion—the doubters, the people who "wait and see." However, I fear that at the same time the hidden opponents are uniting together. The most worrying group in this sense is the middle level of management—responsible workers in ministries and departments, in republican and oblast organs. Here I would not want to make an indiscriminate judgement, as this group also contains many creative, talented, and creatively thinking people who support the changes with all their hearts and are ready to fight for them. However, if one speaks about this stratum as a whole, in fact restructuring actually worsens its position. The monopoly of the departments is disappearing, their opportunities to manipulate the plan are reduced. What is more, a considerable part of the apparatus is liable to be cut, and many people have to change over to productive [izpulnitelska] work. The very ideological attitude of many representatives of this stratum belongs to the past, such as the concept that a heavy hand is needed for society to develop successfully, and that economic self-regulation, based on market relationships, is the way toward the "degeneration" of socialism, toward "bourgeois fabrications." In other words, they do not share the basic ideas of restructuring.

This level carries serious responsibilities for the contents of the specific documents and instructions defining the conditions under which the new economic laws will operate. At the stage when the instructions are being drawn up, quite frequently the ideas raised at a political level are changed, and their fundamental meaning is distorted.

I think that the decisive role now lies with the country's organs of political leadership. Only they can compel the ministries and departments to give up their incompetent, irresponsible interference in the specific productive work at ground level. However, the workers and peasants, technicians and engineers must also be shaken out of their passivity, in order to more quickly start to make use of the rights provided by the new Law on State Enterprises. Unfortunately, at the moment many social strata and groups, especially among the workers class and the peasants, fail to be sufficiently aware of their own position in society, of the essence of their own interests, or of the tasks of society as a whole. They therefore often take up a passive position in deciding issues that affect their own essential interests. The democratic elections of the leaders in the enterprises, the insistent raising on behalf of the workers of acute problems in the local party and state organs, in the press and radio, all these form part of the active struggle for restructuring.

[Nikitin] Are there any guarantees that restructuring is irreversible?

[Zaslavskaya] The claim that the success of restructuring is fully guaranteed reminds me of one of the "economic laws" of socialism established by our political economics, namely the "law of the continuous rise of labor productivity." Just imagine how convenient it is to have such a law, because if it really operates, one does not have to concern oneself with scientific and technical progress, nor with the people's attitude toward labor, for surely labor productivity will still go on rising continuously in any case. The only guarantee for restructuring's success lies in ourselves, in our activity, and in our struggle.

The restructuring has been initiated by the country's supreme political leadership, a leadership that is strong and effective. Every step that it has made, from the 27th CPSU Congress to the July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has enabled us to look into the future with ever greater confidence. Provided that the work being implemented by the party leadership from above is supported from below by the workers' masses, being clearly aware of their own interests and ready to fight for them, then we can really say that the success of restructuring is fully guaranteed and that, whatever may happen, there will be no return to the past. Glasnost has an immense role to play here. It is needed both in the work of the organs of justice and in the procedures for the distribution of all forms of wealth, including housing, prizes and bonuses, various privileges, and so on. All these are key factors in attracting potential supporters of restructuring to engage in direct activity in order to put restructuring into practice.

Briefs

Television Relays

The viewers of Dzhezdinskiy Rayon now can watch two television channels, thanks to the introduction into service of a powerful radio relay line from Dzhezkazgan to Dzhezdy in Kazakhstan. By the end of this 5-year-plan 90% of all viewers in Kazakhstan should be able to receive two television channels. Two 100-km radio relay lines have begun to operate on solar power in Dzhezkazgan and Mangyshlak Oblasts. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 30 Nov 87 LD*]

Economic

Variant Report on Zaykov-Led Moscow Session

PM021429 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS PRAVDA report: "Strengthening the Economic Foundations of Restructuring"; variant First Edition version published in the 2 December Soviet Union *Daily Report*, pp 74-80]

[Text] The party organization and all labor collectives of the capital have launched detailed preparations for a crucial stage of the economy's restructuring—the transfer of the majority of associations, plants, and construction sites to operating in conditions of full economic accountability [polnyy khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing—scheduled for the start of next year.

A city conference to examine enterprises' and organizations' degree of readiness for the introduction of the new economic mechanism and the entry into force of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) was held 27 November in Moscow. Taking part in its work were the leaders of central economic and planning departments, USSR and RSFSR ministers, party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol officials, scientists, specialists, and production pacesetters.

The conference was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Our society, he said, is entering the new stage of restructuring. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes, the chief content of this stage is the further democratization of all social life and the pursuit of a radical economic reform. The country has today undertaken work which is truly enormous in terms of its scale, and whose content is determined by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

If we speak about the economy then these decisions orient the party and the entire people toward the further improvement of the economic mechanism. Within a short time we will have to have completed preparations for the transfer of industrial sectors to full economic accountability and self-financing.

At the same time the new year will see the full entry into force of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). This is linked in its turn with the further development of self-management, the electivity of leaders, and the galvanization of the work of councils of labor collectives.

Thus we are talking about the deepening of the democratization processes, and in a most crucial sphere at that—the sphere of physical production.

At the new, exceptionally important stage of restructuring still greater significance is attached to the human factor and its creative potential, and, of course, the vanguard role of the party organizations and of each Communist is enhanced.

Today we have to make a specific and profound examination of how the party's directives on the transition to the new management conditions are being implemented in practice, directly within the labor collectives.

Specific actions rather than general debate are needed now. It is above all the enterprise and sector leaders who are answerable for the organization and pursuit of this work. But special responsibility rests with the party organs. It is important for all elements of the city organization—from enterprise party groups and committees to party raykoms and gorkoms [as published]—to be vigorously brought into action.

The aim of our conference is to analyze the status of Moscow industry's preparation for the transition to the new working conditions and to outline practical and urgent measures to eliminate all obstacles and shortcomings in the way of the introduction of efficient management methods.

A report was then delivered by O.A. Korolev, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom. Talking about the first results achieved by Moscow's industry on the path of acceleration, he stressed that in no circumstances should exaggerations, much less complacency, be permitted. These results have been achieved mainly at the expense, rather than with the help, of enthusiasm, and the acceleration of last year has started to tail off. We have failed to reinforce the positions of 1986, even though this task was set by the party gorkom.

The main reason for our "marking time" is the inadequate concentration of efforts on the practical implementation of the new approaches in economic management. Today we must not strive for acceleration in any sphere without implementing the essence and fundamental innovation of the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum.

Opening the conference held last week at the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that "we have approached a new and very complex stage of restructuring, one whose core is a line containing two interlinked and mutually dependent aspects—the further democratization of society and radical economic reform."

Economic reform in the city's industry has taken its first steps. Some 160 Moscow enterprises producing one-third of the city's industrial output are working under the conditions of the new economic mechanism. Using the example of front-ranking collectives—the I.A. Likhachev Motor Vehicles Plant and the "Krasnaya Rabotnitsa" Factory—to analyze the results obtained when the new economic mechanism is really introduced at enterprises, the keynote speaker drew attention to the fact that in the city as a whole it is not as yet possible to talk about good results at enterprises working under the new conditions. The labor productivity growth rates achieved at them have been lower than at other enterprises. Results in reducing output prime cost and obtaining above-plan profits have been poor. Self-capitalization and full economic accountability have sharply pointed up the now traditional shortcomings in the work of enterprises, and the failings in the planning, management, and organization of production which party organizations, collectives, and economic leaders have come to accept.

A large backlog of work was allowed to build up by party organizations during the dicussion of the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) at collectives, when in many cases stress was laid on rights during the distribution of "earnings" rather than on how to increase those "earnings" through better, rational economic management. This way of posing the question was one of the reasons why almost none of the enterprises working under the conditions of complete economic accountability adopted increased plans for next year on the basis of the fuller utilization of internal reserves.

The keynote speaker dwelt in detail on the problems linked with the renewal of output, the constant renewal of production and of the assets held by existing funds, and the improvement of the technological standard of production.

The introduction of state acceptance of output quality is having a most decisive impact both on enterprises' economic indicators and on the moral climate in collectives.

As of 1 January this year state acceptance has been functioning at 59 industrial enterprises. A new group of enterprises is now preparing to introduce state acceptance. This problem cannot be left untouched by party concern. Painstaking and daily explanatory and organizational work at labor collectives is the guarantee of success.

The Law on the State Enterprise is being introduced along with the transition to new economic management methods. Practically all aspects of activity will be placed under the control of the labor collective and its elected council. This shows the democratization of economic management. However, as meetings with the chairmen of labor collective councils at leading enterprises show, on the whole the councils have a poor grasp of their functions, rights, and duties.

The secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom dwelt on a very complex task which will have to be resolved in accordance with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. It is a question of completing the reelection of all levels of leader—from team leader to general director—mainly on a competitive basis in 1988, as required by the Law on the State Enterprise. This work will be very considerable and complex. Preparations must be made for it. No unsystematic campaigns, aimlessness, or superficial approaches must be allowed.

The stage of constructive work has started, the speaker said in conclusion. The focus of efforts has switched to the sphere of practical actions.

The speakers at the conference—A.I. Volskiy, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department; V.B. Nosov, general director of the "No 1 Gosudarstvennyy Podshipnikovyy Zavod" production association; A.V. Nikonov, first secretary of Dzerzhinskiy CPSU Raykom; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building; V.V. Kulichev, milling worker and chairman of the labor collective council at the "Temp" Production Association; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab; O.G. Anfimov, minister of the electrical equipment industry; N.A. Balanovskaya, director of the "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" cotton combine; N.A. Pavlova, chief economist at the Klara Zetkin Garment Factory; S.M. Artomonov, party committee secretary at the "Krasnyy Proletariy" Machine Tool Plant; N.Ya. Izvekov, director of the "Serp i Molot" plant;—and others analyzed in depth the course of Moscow industry's preparations for work under the new conditions and discussed ways to improve economic relations and deepen the restructuring process. Specific measures were discussed to overcome all the obstacles, shortfalls, and "bottlenecks" still hampering the introduction and full utilization of efficient economic management methods.

Here sharp criticism was made of a number of leaders of ministries and departments for paying too little attention to the problems of the capital's enterprises and organizations. Many speakers pointed out that a considerable number of the city's industrial enterprises need effective help, particularly in the modernization of old shops and faster renewal of fixed production capital. Many ministries and departments are doing little to help the capital's labor collectives in tackling social issues, particularly those connected with housing construction. For these reasons the capital has begun to lag behind other regions of the country in a whole number of areas.

Restructuring is entering a new stage. Whereas before, the speeches noted, it was increasingly necessary to explain, demonstrate, and substantiate the need for restructuring, now the core of all work is made up of the further democratization of society and radical economic reform. The people's potential is being involved more and more in the renewal that has begun. This requires new approaches from party organizations and new methods of resolving tasks. Today we can no longer act according to the principles of pressure, naked bureaucracy, and carpeting people. The ability to work with people and pool their efforts and the ability of all people to find their place in restructuring is being spotlighted more and more.

The capital's Communists have achieved definite successes in many spheres of economic management. But considerable shortcomings go "hand in hand" with the successes. In order to make up what has been lost and rectify the shortcomings, the speakers noted, we must all put more into our work. Considerably more. The main component which, in our unanimous opinion, must be thoroughly tackled is that of bringing party organizations' organizational and ideological activity into line with the demands of radical economic reform. Economic accountability and self-financing require people to act as their own masters. That is why it is the task of party organizations and all Communists to rectify, coordinate, unite, give impetus to the masses' social activeness, and create a healthy moral atmosphere in labor collectives.

At the new stage, the speakers said, it is important to eradicate once and for all from the work style of party organizations phenomena such as stage management, formalism, and meaningless activity, when good initiatives are enveloped in written regulations and specific work is undermined by eulogizing. The example in everything should be set first and foremost by party gorkom and raykom workers. They must give more thought to how specifically to improve work in individual areas.

Summing up the results of the conference, L.N. Zaykov said that there had been a businesslike, frank discussion of the key issues concerning the Moscow City party organization's activity to prepare enterprises for the transition to full economic accountability in the context of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

All the speakers unanimously supported the party course aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, democratizing social life, and implementing radical economic reform.

Specific proposals were made concerning improvement in the work forms and methods of party committees, soviet and economic organs, and social organizations that are aimed at enhancing labor collectives' activeness and their interest in intensifying production, expanding glasnost, and developing and deepening socialist democracy.

Constructive proposals were made to enhance the role of the human factor, strengthen discipline and order, and establish a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in the work of the city party organization. The need was stressed to further enhance Communists' militancy, their assertiveness and purposefulness, and their orientation toward real action.

At the same time, serious concern was expressed regarding the slow eradication of the negative phenomena which have accumulated, and the poor use of scientific and technical achievements. Only one conclusion can be drawn: We must all greatly step up the pace of restructuring, to which there is no alternative.

At the conference held in the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the party's vanguard role lies in its ability to shape its work in line with vital requirements, take clear stock of the real historical situation, and perceive the new tasks.

Since the April (1985) Central Committee Plenum our ideas on the logical development of the socialist economy, productive forces, and production relations have been considerably enriched. The June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum armed the party with principled, specific directives aimed at smashing the mechanism which is holding us back and oriented it toward the extensive introduction of truly economic methods of management. The party has already set about putting its plans into practice.

The process of forming a system of management for national economic complexes and groups of interconnected sectors is actively in progress. Measures have been taken to reduce superfluous administrative units and restructure the activity of ministries and central and economic departments.

Decisions have recently been taken to accelerate the capital's socioeconomic development. They provide for further improvement in the living and working conditions of working people in this city of millions of inhabitants.

There is no doubt that the Moscow party organization has managed to impart a definite dynamism to economic processes in many spheres of the economy. Plans and socialist pledges for the current year are being successfully fulfilled. Industry in many rayons, including Gagarinskiy, Volgogradskiy, Oktyabrskiy, and a number of others, has ensured 100% fulfillment of contractual commitments.

But we must not flatter ourselves with our achievements. The pace of life dictated by restructuring requires us to work better today than yesterday. Hardly a single rayon coped with the targets for reducing prime cost. One in three of the city's enterprises have been fined for production shortfalls. The construction of housing and social, cultural, and consumer projects is under considerable strain.

We cannot tolerate such shortcomings. People expect tangible practical results from restructuring. Everything must be done everywhere to ensure plan fulfillment, which is the decisive prerequisite for the stability of work under the new economic management conditions.

The alignment of the forms and methods of economic management with modern demands is most clearly reflected in the provisions of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). This document must now become in the direct sense of the word a norm of life for each labor collective and a handbook for all party workers and economic leaders. Without knowledge of its provisions the processes taking place in our economy cannot be correctly directed, and it will be simply impossible to work with and in collectives.

We cannot permit any narrowing of the rights granted to enterprises, as has often happened in the past. The law contains an additional article "On Guarantees of the Observance of Enterprise (Association) Rights." It stresses that all organs of state power and administration are responsible for the strict observance of the law's provisions. This is of fundamental importance.

The adoption of any amendments—including any instructions or other explanations and directives—that distort the essence of this most important document is impermissible. Practical measures are being taken in this respect.

The foundation of success now is to develop and encourage in every possible way the initiative of leaders and their socialist enterprise, and to actively involve the broad working people's masses in economic activity.

The Law on the State Enterprise grants extensive rights to labor collective councils. More than 2,000 councils have already been elected at Moscow enterprises. I want to stress that these are not simply consultative organs but organs invested with substantial rights in accordance with the Law on the Enterprise.

Stable long-term normatives are now becoming our main planning tools. They all directly link the size of enterprises' income and funds with the results of their activities, unite the interests of collectives with the interests of the state, and are designed to actively stimulate society's development. The first experience of the utilization of the principles of full economic accountability and self-capitalization graphically show how an extensive upsurge in the people's initiative is able to generate an expansion of the labor collectives' rights and independence in practice.

However, the speaker continued, another obvious conclusion is also fair—mere enthusiasm for the implementation of the new economic management conditions is not enough. We must be unswervingly guided by the provision that what is good for labor collectives must be good for enterprises and society as a whole, and vice versa.

Full economic accountability have pointed up more sharply the traditional shortcomings that had emerged previously in enterprises' work, and the failings in production management, planning, and organization. A great deal here, of course, depends on the ministries, but there are many questions which must be resolved by economic leaders and party committees at all levels.

Many speeches have noted in particular that there are still many leaders of enterprises, services, and shops who have a poor grasp of their specific activity under the new conditions. This is due, as a rule, to the fact that the economic training of cadres is poor.

The principles of full economic accountability are not reaching the shops and sectors. Poor use is being made of effective labor remuneration and bonus payment systems. Yet the potential here is enormous.

One of the main directions of the economic reform under way is the strengthening of the interdependence of territorial and sectorial interests and the development of clear, joint, coordinated action.

Any enterprise—whatever sector it belongs to—must actively participate in resolving social and economic problems, rather than hide behind a "departmental fence." There is little of such mutual understanding as yet, hence many of our problems.

The radical restructuring of economic management must be indissolubly linked with enterprises' retooling. The state of affairs here needs serious improvement.

The party Central Committee has adopted an extensive program for modernizing industry, first and foremost machine building. It must be directly stated that this program is being implemented unsatisfactorily in Moscow's machine building complex.

Equipment renewal rates are poor. They are lower than the average for the country. Moreover, they are even tending to decline.

The creation of state-of-the-art equipment is inconceivable without the use of modern automated design systems. Everyone now understands this. But can we seriously discuss this if the city's enterprises have neither information about the number of such systems nor data about the effectiveness of their use?

Due attention is not being devoted to strengthening the experimental base of scientific research institutes and design bureaus.

The enormous organizational, explanatory, and educational work done in the country during the transition to state acceptance is well known. And it has borne fruit. However, the facts show that poor use is being made of the lessons of the transition to state acceptance. Technical documentation is being revised slowly, the cadre selection process is sluggish, and the work to improve manufacturing processes and strengthen the metrological base is being delayed.

To be blunt, state acceptance has revealed and laid bare the technical faults, organizational shortcomings, irresponsibility, and indifferent attitudes to output quality that had accumulated and become ingrained in many engineering and technical workers over the course of many years. In other words, it revealed the negative factors in production activity which, as a rule, were overlooked not only by economic leaders but by party leaders too.

The overcoming of such negative phenomena is today an indicator of skillful work in the new way. This is attested by the experience of front-ranking Moscow enterprises.

As of next year state acceptance will be introduced into construction. There are more shortcomings in this area than in industry. Work techniques are constantly violated. The quality of many elements of construction structures and materials cannot stand up to any criticism. Can we really hand over a finished project to state acceptance if it has been assembled from low-quality construction panels or modules? I recall that when we embarked on the development of measures to improve the quality and reliability of machine building output, the first thing we did was to determine its actual technical standard. This made it possible to correctly select the most effective directions and priorities.

It is understandable that a new standard of technology and production organization is required in order to produce world-class machines and materials. The problem of urgently classifying the standard of articles and assessing the technical status of enterprises is now persistently on the agenda.

The State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and sector ministries have been set the task of developing classifiers for output to determine the proportional and scientifically validated creation of first and foremost promising kinds of equipment: Flexible modules, rotary conveyor belts, and processing centers. This will make it possible, on the one hand, to determine long-term demand for progressive kinds of equipment and, on the other, to provide party, soviet, and economic organs with a clear idea of specific ways of retooling enterprises.

Moscow's economy occupies a leading place in the practical implementation of the outlined plans to accelerate our industry's progress to the forefront of science and technology. The city's mighty scientific and production potential can and must be used considerably better. The switching of Moscow's economy to the path of acceleration carries with it immense political and social consequences.

That is why we are right to put the question in such a way as to ensure that it is here that the most advanced technology is introduced, that new-generation machines and equipment are developed, and that progressive structures and methods for running scientific and technical processes are drawn up—that is, everything that determines the basis for breakthroughs in all avenues of science and technology. Muscovites are able to cope with this task.

The comprehensive targeted programs for the accelerated development of all sectors of the economy and the social sphere should be a powerful mobilizing factor for bringing existing intensification reserves into play. Some 26 such programs have been developed in Moscow. This is the right approach to solving long-term tasks. Without focusing efforts on the key questions it will be impossible today to achieve a breakthrough in production intensification or the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

However, as is well known, there continue to be difficulties at sector interfaces. Moreover, the development of industry, municipal services, transport, construction, and the trade sphere has always been closely linked. That is why the Moscow Gorispolkom Planning Commission must, together with ministries and departments, consider whether these programs cannot be combined and linked. This would make it possible to coordinate better all participants, irrespective of which department they come under. It is expedient to involve the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences in this.

The effective development of integration ties with front-ranking enterprises in the CEMA countries and leakng foreign firms is of considerable importance in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Moscow associations, enterprises, and organizations are still making very poor use of the rights accorded them in the sphere of foreign economic activity.

The other day, the first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom went on to say, a seminar of Moscow party raykom first secretaries was held. Together with a group of seminar participants we visited cultural and consumer projects in Gagarinskiy Rayon and met and chatted with people. The conversations were sometimes very blunt. Muscovites cited a mass of examples of bureaucratism, callousness, mismanagement, and inattentiveness to their requirements and needs. Complaints were rightly made about the low quality of many types of consumer goods, and poor working conditions.

I must state bluntly that most of the questions could have been successfully and resolved on the spot by local organs of power.

All rights must be handed over to local organizations now. They must finally start using them. There are already positive examples of this. In the same Gagarinskiy Rayon an economically accountable data processing center has been opened on the initiative of the party raykom, the rayispolkom, and the "Elektronika" Central Scientific Research Institute. It provides a whole range of new services for the population.

A similar center operates in the capital's Leninskiy Rayon with the help of the State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science. Other rayons are still waiting for their centers.

Economic accountability must literally penetrate all spheres of our life. We must be bolder in the creation of cooperatives, including at enterprises providing the most diverse services to the population.

We realize that the conditions for enterprises' transition to full economic accountability cannot be identical for enterprises with differing levels of technical status. We must not fail to take this into account.

The state of affairs in the light, food, and processing sectors of industry is particularly worrying. Everything possible must be done to accelerate their modernization and retooling. This work must be constantly at the center of party committees' concern.

Under economic accountability it is more important than ever to strictly observe delivery discipline and irreproachably fulfill contractual commitments. This is the whole ideology of economic reform.

Summing up all that has been said, I would like to focus your attention on the following aspects.

The task of enhancing the competence of cadres and their mastery of new economic methods of leadership must be brought to the forefront.

Second. It is necessary to make it clear that unless we achieve a breakthrough in the economic activity of the primary elements of production there can be no serious expectations of success in work in the new conditions. Every enterprise, every scientific research institute, and every design bureau must formulate specific and extensive measures for the renewal of all aspects of production, from raising the standard of equipment and technology to questions of the collective's social development.

Third. Individual investigation by ministries and departments is needed as regards the situation at loss-making enterprises, and there are about 70 of them in the city's industry and construction industry. A start must be made by improving their financial position and setting right the economy as a whole.

The mass media have a particularly great role to play in the implementation of all the work on restructuring. It is necessary to seek out virtually grain by grain and to widely disseminate everything progressive that is born in the course of restructuring in the conditions of the new economic mechanism's introduction. We do not need reporters of events, as some press organs turn out to be at times, but genuine organizers of the masses. Today this Leninist demand on the press is more topical than ever before.

Now the capital's party organizations are holding meetings of Communists to hear reports by elected organs on their work in the leadership of restructuring. A serious and objective discussion is under way on the initial practical results. An exacting assessment is being made of real positive changes in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. Shortcomings and omissions are coming to light, and plans are being outlined to augment our work and get restructuring going at full speed.

It is very important to ensure that all this work proceeds without unnecessary stage management, ostentation, or verbosity. The meeting participants must formulate specific measures for the successful fulfillment of set targets, the elimination of all bottlenecks, and the strengthening of laggard sections.

There are no ready-made prescriptions for all eventualities in life. Restructuring must turn into the creative laboratory of the whole people. We have to interpret the practice of renewal, to pick up and develop the experience of the best. This means displaying endurance, not giving in to difficulties, and being able to recognize and cut short any actions by those who are deliberately applying the brakes to our work, failing to take measures to eliminate shortcomings, and at times simply reveling with malicious glee in the difficulties and failures.

Being in the vanguard of restructuring means learning to overcome lack of initiative and incompetence and struggling against the administrative-command methods of management. This means not yielding to the temptation to present wishful thinking as reality and to report imaginary successes at any cost.

Our conference must provide a good impetus to the enhanced activity of all elements of the city's party organization. Tremendous work lies ahead at the new and very complex stage of our society's development. We can and must act so that Moscow becomes the genuine leader of restructuring.

And we are obligated to achieve this.

The following took part in the work of the conference; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; O.S. Belyakov, L.F. Bobykin, and I.P. Yastrebov, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, secretaries of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and leaders of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

Agricultural

Late November Weather, Crop Status Reported

PM021153 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Nov 87 p 1

["Weather and Crops" by Agrometeorologist T. Ivansheva]

[Text] Cold weather is recorded in the northeast of the USSR's European territory, particularly in the North, Volga-Vyatsk, and Ural Regions. The low temperatures did not, however, pose a danger to wintering crops as the fields have adequate snow cover (mostly 15-20cm).

Fields in most of the Central and Central Chernozem Regions and the southern half of the Volga Region had 3-8cm of snow cover, but there were no severe frosts in those regions and the minimum soil temperature at the tillering node depth of winter grain crops and the grass root neck was minus 1-4°. In the Baltic, Belorussia, and the north of the Ukraine, where the maximum air temperature rose to 5-9° most days during the 10-day period, poor plant vegetation was recorded during daylight hours. In Moldavia, most of the Ukraine, in Rostov Oblast, and the south of the Volga region the daytime air temperature rose to 10-16° with 17-21° in the Crimea and the North Caucasus. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses there grew throughout the second 10-day period. Precipitation occurred over the whole European territory of the USSR.

During the first few days of the third 10-day period the temperature there fell to minus 17-23°, with minus 27-33° in the North, Volga-Vyatka, Ural, and Central Volga Regions, minus 7-10° in the Central Chernozem Region, and minus 2-5° in the northern and eastern oblasts of the Ukraine. A strong wind, snow storms, and ice were recorded during those days. Rain and snow fell in Moldavia and the western Ukraine. Snow cover had formed over almost the whole territory by 23 November. Only the western Baltic, Moldavia, the Transcarpathian Oblast, the southern and Donets-Dnepr regions, and the North Caucasus were without snow.

The transcaucasian republics warmed up after a cold spell and the daytime air temperature rose to 17-24°, with 14-19° in Armenia. On the whole the mean air temperature for the 10-day period was close to the seasonal norm. Some 25-45mm of precipitation occurred in western Georgia. The rest of the transcaucasus experienced either no precipitation or a maximum of 5mm.

It was cold in the arable areas of West and East Siberia and the north of Kazakhstan. Frosts became more severe there at the beginning of the third 10-day period of November. The minimum air temperature fell to minus 40-54° in northeast Kazakhstan, in Novosibirsk, Tomsk, and Kemerovo Oblasts, Altay Kray, and the transbaykal. Severe frost in the transbaykal region will complicate the maintenance of livestock on pasture. Strong winds and snow storms were recorded in the northern half of Kazakhstan.

The weather was mild in the republics of Central Asia during the second 10-day period of November: Mean air temperature rose 2-4° above the seasonal norm. Winter grain crops grew with an adequate supply of moisture. Virtually all pasture in Kirghizia had snow cover to a depth of 15-23cm (up to 40cm in Naryn and Osh Oblasts). Conditions for transhumance there were unfavorable: Feed for animals was difficult of access, and snow storms, snow falls, and fog have complicated the driving and maintenance of sheep on pasture and the transportation of feed to overwintering places.

There was a sharp drop in temperature in northern Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan on 23 November: Minimum air temperature fell to minus 7-14° in northern Central Asia and to minus 16-22 in southern Kazakhstan. Precipitation and strengthening winds were recorded there. Conditions for completing the cotton harvest in the Central Asian republics worsened as a result of the fall in temperature.

Agro-Industrial Bank Chief Outlines Tasks

PM261035 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Nov 87 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Obozintsev, chairman of the Agro-Industrial Bank, by TASS correspondent V. Ternovskiy under the rubric "Topical Interview": "On the Basis of Businesslike Partnership. USSR Agro-Industrial Bank Created"—date and place unspecified, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The profound transformations in the economic mechanism and the development of commodity-money relations have necessitated a radical reform in the finance and credit system and an improvement in the banks' role in and influence on strengthening economic accountability [khozraschet]. A specialized Agro-Industrial Bank [Agroprombank] has been set up in the country. What is its role? Will the new bank pursue more flexible and sophisticated credit relations? TASS correspondent V. Ternovskiy ask these questions of A. Obozintsev, chairman of the Agroprombank.

[Obozintsev] First, some figures. In order to get an idea of our potential we need only say that the bank is designed to serve at least 150,000 agro-industrial complex enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions. Over 3,000 local branches can provide credit and offer other types of financial services to the tune of R250 billion.

It should be particularly stressed that the Agroprombank will base its credit relations with the agro-industrial complex on a businesslike partnership assuming equal economic responsibility for the efficient utilization of credit and for the end results of production. In order to ensure that all this actually happens, the bank and agro-industiral complex enterprises must find a sphere for applying credit, utilizing it efficiently, and ensuring timely repayment. In other words, there is a reciprocal economic responsibility for the results of work.

[Ternovskiy] The bank's credit relations with agro-industrial complex enterprises will now be based, as you stressed, on credit agreements determining the sides' joint commitments and their economic responsibility. But how will questions linked with planning, the allocation and repayment of credit, and cuts or increases in the interest rates charged for credit be resolved?

[Obozintsev] The rights of the bank's rayon institutions have been substantially expanded. These rights are so important that they now make it possible to determine credit relations with a specific enterprise on the basis of how it is organized, the level of economic initiative it displays, and the prospects for its development and the repayment of the credit. You will note that we not only lend money but monitor it to ensure that it earns a high yield. These contractual relations ensure the legal and economic partnership between bank and enterprise.

The conditions of an experiment for the bank to directly participate with its funds and assets in joint financial measures to ensure the retooling of production are being worked out with a view to enhancing the economic interest of the bank's institutions in the further development of the agro-industrial complex and the extensive utilization of credit resources in accelerating scientific and technical progress. This experiment will be very long-term, since it will promote the development of aspects of economic enterprise and mutual economic responsibility for the results of production.

The bank's transfer to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, and—chiefly—statewide economic interests now require a completely different approach in the allocation of credit to agro-industrial complex enterprises whose leaders continue to rely on credit as a free source of financial expenditure. The new conditions will not encourage negligent economic managers, since the credit cannot be used to plug financial gaps and make up for losses caused by mismanagement.

[Ternovskiy] In your opinion, will the new credit mechanism stimulate improved efficiency among agro-industrial complex enterprises only in conjunction with full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing?

[Obozintsev] That is the only way that things should be. The efficient functioning of the new economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex will depend decisively on the extent to which it is possible to create reliable financial and economic conditions for the new mechanism. In accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) next year all payments from enterprise accounts, including the wage bill and budget deductions, will take place only after payment documents have been deposited with the bank. This will require a radical review of attitudes to finance and the state of payment discipline. If by the start of the year enterprises are unable to form a stable financial base they may from the outset find themselves in a difficult position with regard to payments for wages and other needs.

In this regard it is hard to overestimate the need to restructure economic work within the agro-industrial complex system. All enterprise leaders and specialists without exception must be concerned about the economy. The role of chief accountants and economists, who are called on to be the main assistants of enterprise leaders and the proponents of the introduction of economic management methods, must be enhanced.

The creation of the USSR Agroprombank is a promising new way of cooperating with farms. It grew out of the process of restructuring the entire national economy in the country, including the banking system.

Media Report 22-24 November Developments

LD290122 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 22-24 November. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

22 November

Sowing of winter crops has been completed in Leninabad Oblast, Tajikistan, covering over 83,000 hectares. This region's natural and climatic conditions make it possible to obtain 30-35 quintals per hectare more from winter sowing than from spring crops. Many farms in the oblast have expanded the area under winter crops since receiving independence in their organization and agricultural operations, concentrating on high-yield varieties of wheat and barley. Sowing of catch crops is also in full swing in the republic, already covering over 30,000 hectares of irrigated land. Through combining these with traditional fodder crops, it will be possible to ensure cultivation almost all year round. (1200)

24 November

Fifteen Uzbek rayons are selling above-plan cotton to the state. Uzbekistan has sold over 4.7 million tonnes of raw cotton in all so far. (0900)

Tambov Oblast farmers have fulfilled the annual plan for selling all types of livestock produce to the state, having dispatched over 500,000 tonnes of milk, almost 138,000 tonnes of meat, and a large quantity of eggs and wool to procurement points and processing enterprises. (0900)

Scientific

Gorizont TV Satellite Stops Transmissions

LD041204 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] The transmissions of the Soviet television satellite, "Gorizont," have suddenly stopped in the cable network of the Swedish Telecommunications Administration. Since Tuesday the screen has been black, and despite contacts with the Soviet Union, the Telecommunications Administration cannot say what has happened.

Shatalov on Cosmonaut Training, Mission Problems

PM021627 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 41, 12-18 Oct (Signed to Press 14 Oct 87) pp 7-9

[Interview with Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General of Aviation V. Shatalov by B. Konovalov under the rubric "Man and Space": "Why the Route to the Stars Is a Thorny One"; first paragraph is NEDELYA introduction]

[Text] Lt Gen of Aviation V. Shatalov, twice hero of the Soviet Union and chief of the Yuriy Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center, talks about the difficulties encountered in the emergence of the new profession to B. Konovalov, *Izvestiya* science observer.

[Konovalov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, 26 years have passed since Yuriy Gagarin's flight. But all the same, the cosmonaut profession has not become a popular one.

The pace of progress differs strikingly from that of other professions unique in their time, such as a pilot, submariner, and polar explorer. What is the reason for this?

[Shatalov] This is mainly because of the uniqueness of the world that mankind is now penetrating. Essentially, there is no earthly analogy to space. Polar explorers, for example, at first really had to have warm clothing and food supplies and get used to the cold. Man is essentially flexible, and so this is achieved relatively easily. Recently, for example, a U.S. sportswoman wearing only a swimming outfit swam across a 4-km stretch of the Bering Straits where the water temperature was only 7[]. An international group of skiers under the leadership of D. Shparo [name as published] is now preparing to cross the Arctic Ocean on skis from the shores of the USSR to Canada. For this they need only to equip and train themselves well. But can any training get you accustomed to a vacuum?

In ancient times, people learned to breathe underwater through a reed pipe. The first submarines could be made by the most primitive means. Likewise, enthusiasts could construct the first aircraft with their own hands. Thus, things developed rapidly in different countries. This was determined by the comparative simplicity of the technology needed to penetrate the underwater world and the air.

But space required a completely different level of technology. First, it required expensive technology: Every kilogram of useful load put into space requires 30-40 kilograms of the rocket's ground launch weight. Second, very complicated technology is needed. If it were only a matter of money, then probably many countries' peoples would easily be able to "club together" to launch their cosmonaut into orbit.

From the first step, the launch of the Soviet "Sputnik," space equipment has required the highest standard of scientific development and constructive design, and the most advanced technology. The problem could not be solved simply by enthusiastic one-man bands, as with the conquest of the oceans and space. State expenditure and the colossal collective labor of scientists, engineers, workers, along with a very high general industrial standard, are needed for success. Just how serious this barrier is is demonstrated by the fact that even developed European countries and Japan, which have long had first-class submarines and aircraft, are, independently, still technically unable to put their own cosmonauts into space.

There is still one more most important barrier lodged like a "time bomb" in the nature of man himself. Millions of years of evolution have adapted us to the force of gravity. On board a submarine or an aircraft, people are not separated from the earth's pull. The walls of the apparatuses and survival systems are sufficient to isolate them from the new world, and in it they will feel essentially the same as they do on earth. But no walls can save a man from the influence of space: There a man is weightless. He is suddenly deprived of the earth's customary gravity. This must be paid for immediately. Independent of the cosmonaut's will or consciousness, his organism begins to restructure itself and adapt itself to the new conditions. This process does not occur easily and painlessly. You will not find any analogy with this phenomenon on earth. So mankind penetrates the depths of weightlessness very carefully.

[Konovalov] As is well known, the Soviet cosmonauts L. Kizim, V. Solovyev, and O. Atkov established the record for living in weightlessness, 237 days. V. Ryumin stayed in orbit for almost a year with a short break. Now Yu. Romanenko has broken the record for uninterrupted flight. Is there, in your opinion, some optimal period for staying in space? How do you assess the trends of future development of cosmonautics? For example, is a flight to Mars and back possible?

[Shatalov] Doctors are cautious in their assessments. The serious barrier that they were apprehensive about, for example, was the 120-day flight. During that time, the blood in the human organism is entirely renewed. Initially they feared that space flight conditions could affect the work of the hemogenic system so much that they would give rise to irrevocable consequences. This did not occur. On the record flight, the cosmonauts went through two complete blood replacement cycles without ill effects. Thus, the next step can be made in increasing the length of the flight. The USSR Ministry of Health's Medical and Biological Problems Institute carried out in terrestrial conditions an experiment in which researchers spent a year in a state of limited mobility, to a certain extent simulating space flight. The researchers survived these conditions without ill effects to their health. So, evidently, a cosmonaut's year-long flight is a realistic proposition.

A flight to Mars and back will take 2-3 years. This is quite a different matter. Right now, no one dares to say whether it is possible from the medical viewpoint without utilizing technical means simulating the earth's gravity.

Views differ on the optimum period for cosmonaut's work in earth orbit. Lengthy flights are more profitable from the economical standpoint because launching cosmonauts into orbit is not cheap, and it makes sense to make use of him there for as long as possible. It should also be taken into account that a certain amount of time is spent adapting to weightlessness, when the crew's work capacity is lowered, on making the station "habitable," and on getting accustomed to working in space conditions. Practice shows that the longer the flight, the higher the "return" from the cosmonauts as operators and researchers. There has not been a single crew which within a month has not said that it can do twice as much as at the start of the flight. But, of course, with the passage of time, a lengthy stay in an enclosed space, separated from one's family and from all familiar surroundings, has its effect. Fatigue gradually accumulates. It is true that we have not yet observed a sharp fall in efficiency toward the end of lengthy flights, but a certain reduction does occur. This should be taken into account. In my view, in contemporary conditions, a flight lasting about 4 months is best from the standpoint of maximum "return" from the cosmonaut. A period of up to 6 months is reasonable, maybe.

Of course, the internal logic of developing cosmonautics, as we have already said, requires very lengthy flights. "Probing actions" into living conditions in weightlessness will continue. I believe that space medicine will establish the safety limits for a man's existence in weightlessness at the level of current technical capabilities. Clearly, the optimum period must be lower than this limit, and by how much will depend on the specific tasks of the flight.

We have twice already implemented a partial crew replacement. This trend will be developed further as one of the possible variants for combining very lengthy flights with optimum ones. In the future, evidently, the stations must operate a continuously manned regime. Cosmonauts will start replacing each other, handing over the "job" directly in orbit.

Orbital stations will indisputably be the main means of opening up near-earth space. U.S. specialists are also coming around to this now. They intend to create a long-term orbital station in the mid-nineties in cooperation with West European partners. We have already accumulated a great deal of experience in this respect. The *Mir* orbital station, representing the third generation of this sort of Soviet space apparatus, is now operating in space. Its main feature is its six docking ports. (Let us recall that the previous generation—the *Salyut-6* and *Salyut-7* stations—had two of them.) The new characteristic enables us to attach so-called specialized modules to the *Mir*. One of these —*Kvant*—is now moored to the station's aft docking port. *Kvant*'s main function is that of an astrophysics laboratory exploring the universe in the X-ray and ultraviolet wavelengths. But this module is special. With its help *Mir*'s life expectancy is essentially prolonged. Manned craft and freighters can be moored to *Kvant*'s aft docking port, and transfer aboard the station is effected via open hatchways. Fuel is pumped from the "Progress" tankers via *Kvant* into the *Mir*'s tanks.

Other specialized modules are to moor at *Mir*'s forward docking port. A robot arm will then automatically transfer them to one of the four lateral docking ports. These modules can be used for varied purposes. For instance, they can be used for medical and biological research, ocean studies, or long-distance sounding of the earth's surface, producing new materials or valuable preparations on biotechnology installations.

But *Mir* will perform its main function as the base module where the cosmonauts live and from which control of the entire complex is effected. Two small cabins have been installed for the main crew. But to be honest, as yet cosmonauts' living conditions are more severe than, say, those on submarines. The new Soviet "Energiya" rocket, capable of putting into orbit stations with a mass of more than 100 tonnes, will further raise the quality of life in orbit and expand research capability. This is five times bigger than is the case with the *Salyut*s and the *Mir*, which were put into orbit with the help of the "Proton" rocket, which has been part of our space program since 1965.

[Konovalov] Judging by what you have said, medicine will not reduce its demands on cosmonauts. In your opinion, when will scientists who are not in ideal health be able to work in space?

[Shatalov] Yes, at present, demands on cosmonauts' health remain extremely rigid. This is explained above all by the fact that medicine is still unable to predict sufficiently precisely the possible effect of space flight conditions, and especially its long-term consequences. As yet there are few flight statistics. And people react to flight in different ways. Everything else being equal, naturally, a healthy man will cope better with the burden of work in space. Therefore, during the selection process it is not uncommon for only 1 out of 50 pilots pronounced unconditionally suitable for flying high-speed jet aircraft to meet cosmonaut health requirements.

But this, as recent practice has shown, is still no guarantee. Thus, Aleksandr Laveykin was given a totally clean bill of health on the basis of investigations on the ground. But once on board, during prolonged flight, tests on an exercise bike, which require particular physical exertion, revealed occasional irregularities in his heartbeat. The doctors could not give a 100% guarantee that his health would not be damaged by continuing the flight. To avoid taking chances, they had to take the opportunity presented by the arrival of a Soviet-Syrian crew on *Mir* to return him to earth. Thus the rigorous selection procedure is a necessary "insurance." This is well justified. Looking at all generations of cosmonauts, you can see that the overwhelming majority remain in good health as they grow older, which enables them to undertake new flights, using the experience they have accumulated in previous flights. V. Dzhanibekov, for instance, has worked in space five times!

On the other hand, it is also necessary to bear in mind the probability of unforeseen situations during a flight, whereby conditions may arise which depart significantly from the norm. There was, for example, an occasion when the carrier rocket failed in the boost phase. The cosmonauts' emergency recovery system came into action, and they touched down safely. There was a fire during a launch. Then, too, the emergency recovery system also worked without a hitch. The craft was "jettisoned" straightaway, and the solid-fuel engines carried it sideways and lifted it, whereupon the parachute opened—and everything ended safely. But even so, the cosmonauts were subjected to a force equivalent to 15-17G, not to mention the psychological stress. Only a trained man in good physical health can stand up to this. Therefore, I do not think medical requirements will be relaxed in the near future. But this does not preclude specialists from flying, and healthy people can be selected from among them. For instance, a doctor, O. Atkov, spent 237 days in space. Why can we not select and train, say, biologists, astronomers, geologists, or oceanologists? In my opinion, this is quite feasible.

In the more distant future, with the use of the "Energiya" rocket, the creation of roomy, spacious stations and craft, and development of new safety methods, the team will evidently be clearly divided into crew and scientific personnel, as it is now, for example, on marine research ships.

An organization like, say, Aeroflot will emerge to handle constant flights between earth and space, while scientific organizations will assign specialists to work in space. Changes in space technology will also cause changes in medical demands made of scientific personnel. These demands must, of course, be less rigorous than for professional cosmonauts.

[Konovalov] But at present, is training based on the premise that a cosmonaut must be an all-around crewmember, both a pilot and a researcher?

[Shatalov] The goal confronting the cosmonaut at the beginning of his training has not changed since Gagarin's time: to execute his mission in full. But, of course, the mission itself is becoming more complex as the years go by. Technology is changing. Yes, automated equipment is appearing which in the normal regime substantially eases the cosmonaut's work. But the standby manual control option has to be used in emergencies. There have been many such examples during flights. Consequently, on earth, at the training center, the crew must study to perfection the craft, station, and logic behind its systems' operation. The cosmonaut must detect any irregularity immediately and find a way out of a complex situation.

On the other hand, the volume of research is continually broadening. The two-three crew members must willy-nilly be all-around crewmembers, able to perform astronomical, geophysical, medical and biological, technical, and other experiments. Naturally, the cosmonaut cannot have the same skills as, say, a professional astronomer. But he must know the equipment and understand the essence of the processes occuring during an experiment and must be able to correct the original program if the need should arise.

[Konovalov] How long does it take to transform a recruit into a professional cosmonaut?

[Shatalov] Some 3-5 years currently. Moreover, we try to ensure that the future cosmonaut is initially a reserve, sometimes on many occasions. Often you may hear people saying that this is a "moral trauma." A man is equally trained but another goes into orbit. No, this is an element in training, and a very important, crucial one at that, and with us the overwhelming majority correctly understand this situation.

[Konovalov] Why is it that crew commanders are still being trained at the test pilot school? Why is the title of USSR pilot-cosmonaut still being conferred on those who have been in orbit?

[Shatalov] That is not an easy question. Let us not forget that the profession of cosmonaut is not a common one; it is unique. Cosmonaut training is often "individual" in nature. But there is a common element for everyone. Yes, specialized areas are being categorized now: commander, flight engineer, research cosmonaut, test cosmonaut, cosmonaut-physician. But I should like to emphasize that we are training everyone to pilot the spacecraft and space station. This combination of special skills is vitally necessary now. If the commander suddenly falls ill, the flight engineer must independently bring the craft back to earth.

Therefore, the concept of pilot-cosmonaut is a generalized one. All Soviet cosmonauts launched into space are ready to act as pilot. These professions have much in common. Pilots and cosmonauts alike must experience G-loads, work in pressure suits, and know how to take their bearings from the earth from a high altitude and monitor a great number of instruments. The characteristic feature of a cosmonaut's working conditions is the high speed of many of the processes he has to deal with and the lack of time for making decisions. Furthermore, it is by no means always possible to ask Mission Control for advice. If you bear in mind that a spacecraft in earth orbit is traveling at a speed of 8 km a second and that a signal travels along a person's nervous system at a rate of 50-60 m a second, virtually 150 times slower, then this will give you some idea of the importance of the cosmonaut's developing fast reactions. It is for that reason that automatic equipment is being used on an increasingly wide scale on board spacecraft. But the cosmonaut, I repeat, must monitor its operations and intervene quickly if necessary. This is particularly important during launch, docking, and landing procedures.

I recall when the U.S. astronaut David Scott showed me a turbojet which they were using for moon landing training. We had just been inspecting some excellent simulators which provide good earth training in conditions close to those in nature. Suddenly we were confronted by this unpredictable and unstable machine. We were already aware that shortly before our arrival, the turbojet's engine had failed, and the astronaut had had to eject.

"Why do you have such flights?" I asked, already aware of the answer but wanting confirmation. "Aren't you risking your lives?"

"That's the point," Scott answered. "On earth you can stop a process at any moment and sit down and think about it. But a mistake in the air means the destruction of the turbojet. The pilot has only one chance to save himself, by ejecting and parachuting down. Furthermore, he is well aware that he will not have that chance on the moon. That necessitates a different approach to earth training. The pilot is now in a different psychological condition when he gets into the simulator. His sense of responsibility for the performance of irreversible operations is sharply increased."

Our pilot-commanders bear the main responsibility during the performance of dynamic operations. Test pilot schools pursue the same aim: inculcating a sense of responsibility for one's actions, instilling fearlessness and composure. Extreme situations are deliberately created in which people are taught not to lose their heads but to act in an efficient, composed, and correct way. I should like to emphasize again that flight training is important for people of all professions who enter cosmonautics. A man must be accustomed to stress and responsibility. Fearlessness is not innate; it is acquired.

[Konovalov] You have really been singing the praises of flight training. But as chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center, you clearly pay at least as much attention to training on the ground. What innovations have there been here in recent years?

[Shatalov] Naturally, training on the ground occupies the main place in the preparation process. Many methods have not changed—training in centrifuges, vestibular test stands, anechoic chambers, flights involving short-term weightlessness, and physical training. Test stands simulating spacecraft and stations are characterized by creation of conditions increasingly close to those in nature.

When the time came for cosmonauts to undertake constant working missions in open space, we created a special neutral buoyancy tank. An orbiting space station can be fully submerged in the pool and, using special devices, weightlessness can be simulated in the water. Crews can learn how to do all types of work outside the station. That work is becoming more complex now, including, for instance, installation of new solar panel wings.

One innovation resulting from the experience of life in space is the in-flight upgrading of crews' skills. When a flight lasts 6 months or more, you cannot envisage everything that may happen. For example, could anyone imagine some extraneous object entering the docking unit between *Mir* and *Kvant*, preventing the space vehicles from docking? In the hydrolaboratory we rehearsed the situation, transmitted our recommendations to the crew on board, and Yu. Romanenko and A. Laveykin acted independently in accordance with those instructions and coped with the problem, even though they had not trained for that on earth. As a result the valuable *Kvant* module, in which Soviet and many foreign scientists had invested 7 years' work, was not lost and is serving the space program today.

But that is an extreme case, whereas during a long spaceflight a whole series of more ordinary situations occurs. The program was changed, some new research was necessary, an instrument had to be adjusted.... In this case we utilize existing means of communication: radio, teleprinters, and television. Freighters sometimes deliver videocassettes containing whole lectures full of detailed instruction for the crew.

The flexible training system, incorporating elements of in-flight upgrading, require closer collaboration between the Cosmonaut Training Center on the one hand and Mission Control and scientific institutions on the other. That is why our duties include not only training for a flight but also continuous monitoring of it.

[Konovalov] I remember that when you flew on *Soyuz-8* you were given tools on board for the first time. Before that it was thought that space equipment did not need repair....

[Shatalov] What a tool—one screwdriver, which could also be used as a chisel. An element of the control wheel had to be secured. For that, it was necessary to remove an obstruction. For a whole hour I "chiseled away." Yeliseyev was beginning to shout: "Don't be so methodical; the solar panels will break off." Then I bound everything with insulating tape, as "replacement" surgery. That control wheel is now lying somewhere as a monument to the first repair job in space.

Life showed then that there is virtually no system that might not need repair in space. The designers have introduced new concepts, a system's feasibility of repair and ease of repair. That is understandable. The first *Soyuz* craft flew for just a few days. But *Salyut-6*, for example, was in operational orbit for 5 years. Much can happen in that time.

Very complex situations also occur, such as restoring a "dead" station to working condition. For example, V. Dzhanibekov and V. Savinykh docked with *Salyut-7*, which was out of control, worked there heroically in subzero temperatures, and after repairing the station carried out an extensive research program on it.

Of course, repair work requires skill and preliminary preparation. You already need to know how to work with a file and a vise, how to solder, to rivet, to drill, and to saw. You have to be familiar with bolts and screws, and you need a good knowledge of electronics.

[Konovalov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, does it not worry you that when in orbit, the crew spends a great deal of time "serving" their own needs? It has been calculated that at present the crew spends only a small proportion of the working day on research and experiments while the bulk of the time goes to maintaining the operational efficiency of various systems on the station, on physical exercise, talking with earth, medical examinations, and so forth.

[Shatalov] Yes. There are reserves here, large reserves. Very much depends on improved space hardware. It must be said that its development shows a clear trend toward easing the burden on the crew and freeing it from ancillary work. Everything that can be transferred to computers and automatic equipment is being transferred.

If you recall the first 10 years of manned flights, for example, all the commands and changes to the work program were transmitted vocally by operators on earth. The cosmonauts recorded them and confirmed them. This took a great amount of time. Whole volumes of documents were carried on board. You had to "rummage around" in them to find the required page. Nowadays, the *Mir* station is quite well-equipped with computer equipment. The control of the orbital complex is automated, and all the systems are controlled automatically both on board and from Mission Control. The flight program and changes to it are transmitted via the crew's radio link to the computer memory. The on-board computers operate in service mode and on the visual display show everything the crew has to do at each stage of the flight.

All the plans, instructions, and recommendations that used to be written down in the volumes of "on-board documentation" are now fed into the computer's memory, which tells the crew everything it needs to know and requests the cosmonauts' intervention in the event of a nonstandard situation or simply for assistance. The cosmonauts' link with Mission Control can now be effected via satellite. The *Mir* station, for instance, has tested out a special high-directional antenna, which remains fixed on the satellite while in flight and maintains contact with the cosmonauts during a considerable part of the orbit.

For the time being, this is experimental work. But in the future, when the system of two or three geostationary satellites linked among themselves and with earth, begins to operate, it will be possible to establish virtually a permanent link between the crews and Mission Control. This will make it possible to considerably relieve the ground stations of the need to track the flight. The main thing is that at every stage of the flight it will be possible to monitor everything happening on board and, if necessary, to transmit instructions. This link will be of no small significance for improving the psychological atmosphere on board the spacecraft, too. The very realization that there is constant contact with earth will mean a great deal.

No matter how much we mix the various elements of the daily program, both it and life on board remain quite monotonous. The same old apparatus, the same old control panels, the same old earth which is so small that within 2 weeks you can navigate freely without a chart. In this atmosphere, the alternation of work and relaxation is very important. At the moment, relaxation on board the craft is the Achilles' heel of spaceflights. Yes, it is necessary to have good collections of books, videocassettes, tape recordings, and regular televisual contacts with families. Sometimes you also need to be alone in your cabin. As the stations are improved, so the opportunities for relaxation will also increase.

But it is very important to switch from today's psychological crew support which, like it or not, is weak, to permanent psychological contact between cosmonaut and earth. In my view, it is more important for the cosmonaut to be able to watch the "Vremya" program at its usual time than even the very best video recording. It is more important to be able to telephone home via the radio at any time rather than wait for the special Sunday contacts with families. All these elements taken together are now customarily referred to as "the human factor." For example, on long voyages it plays an exceptionally important role in intensifying work in orbit. I believe that we still attach insufficient attention to this matter. Of course, the main role here is played by the improvement of technology, but there is much that can be done even without that.

Generally speaking, I see not only the psychological backup but also the entire medical backup for the crew's normal activity as a great reserve. This is my personal opinion, and doctors may disagree with it. Cosmonauts have long been saying among themselves that, at the moment, our medical science is applying means of countering effects of weightlessness on too broad a front. Most important is the fact that all this is still just experimental. We find it surprising that regardless of how many men there are on board—two or three—they all make maximum use of resources offered by space medicine to maintain their ability to work in weightlessness and during reacclimatization. It would seem more sensible to let one cosmonaut use one method, let a second cosmonaut use another method, compare them, and draw conclusions. But no, everything is "lumped together," and it is impossible to separate the more effective from the less effective. That is why all cosmonauts are required to perform a large volume of physical exercises on a running machine and a training cycle and to do weight training. In addition, there is the wearing of heavy suits [nagruzochnyye kostyumy] and the use of vacuum chambers and medical preparations. Once again, however, it is not clear which of this whole range of methods is the most effective. The exercises consume much work time.

Whenever you mention this fact, people usually recall that after the 14-day flight on *Gemini* one of the U.S. astronauts broke his leg because his bones had become so fragile. They cite the example of the difficult reacclimatization which A. Nikolayev and V. Sevastyanov had after their 18-day flight on *Soyuz-9.* But the equipment that they had was very cramped with really limited opportunities for movement by the cosmonauts. Orbiting stations are a completely different matter. Crews are constantly on the move now, installing things and doing physical work. That fact must be taken into account. "Progress" spacecraft make regular visits. After all, in space a mass is still a mass, and the unloading of the "cargo ships" and the loading of used equipment into them is difficult work. The cosmonauts themselves acknowledge that they become very tired. Still, they have to go on turning the pedals and running on the machine like guinea pigs. The sheer monotony of this is very tiring, but the main point is that the whole time there is the doubt as to whether so much physical exercise is necessary.

No one disputes that it is useful, but neither you nor I spend 2-3 hours of our working day engaged in physical training, although this would do no one any harm. But first of all we must work. Clearly, it is necessary to establish the necessary minimum of physical exercise so that it is performed satisfactorily and does not occupy so much work time. Everything is fine in moderation. That moderation must be scientifically validated on each flight and personalized for each cosmonaut.

[Konovalov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, are you satisfied with the present-day "return" to the national economy from manned flights, or not? Journalists, for example, have to make promises such as, this will give the national economy... this will help to... this will prompt. Is it not time to bring the future into the present?

[Shatalov] Some areas, such as space photography, are yielding practical results. But in general, of course, there is a lack of purposefulness and consistency. There is, in my view, an unsystematic search going on, with a range of experiments in the most diverse areas. There is a lack of a good program with a precise formulation of goals and of how to achieve them stage by stage. This is clearly in some part due to the general state of science in the country, which is poorly coordinated with the national economy and remote from practical needs. Nevertheless, much is being done at this moment in space that is capable of producing quite a considerable spin off for the national economy. But the crews will bring the results back to earth, and everything will then disappear "down a hole," as it were. Perhaps increasing the functions of the recently established USSR Main Administration for Creation and Utilization of Space Technology would improve the situation. Flights into space are, of course, in many respects a journey into the unknown. Quite often, theoretical presuppositions are at variance with practice. This has occurred, for example, with space technology. It has turned out that there is no pure weightlessness on board but that conditions of microgravitation prevail. It has turned out that the picture we had of the influence of certain physical phenomena was not altogether accurate. This has slowed down work to some extent.

But much could be changed if we did not have to wait for results of such experiments to be brought back to earth once every 6 months. It is possible to use descent capsules for rapid delivery of the necessary material from the spacecraft. We did conduct such an experiment, but for some reason it has been forgotten. It also happens that we wait 6 months in space orbit. We carry out studies for 6-12 months on earth. Only then do we prepare the next experiment. At this pace we will not set up orbital workshops and factories, which the press has in fact promised many times over, even by the year 2000. Yet technology on earth is not standing still but is constantly improving. What it yesterday seemed economically beneficial to do in space has now already been done on earth at comparable cost.

We are pinning great hopes on special modules which will work in conjunction with the *Mir* space station. Perhaps we should adapt one of the modules as capsules, which would be periodically dispatched to earth with the results of the experiments. All crews unanimously attest that the knowledge that their work is important to the country gives them a sense of purpose and makes it easier for them to endure their long stay in outer space. If they are aware while still in flight that the fruits of their labor are already being used, then this will act as the best of all incentives to cosmonauts.

But cosmonautics is still young. The existing shortcomings are the teething troubles of the space industry. We must not forget that we are now celebrating only the 30th anniversary of the space era that our first sputnik ushered in.

[Konovalov] Please tell us about the features that international flights have introduced into cosmonaut training? A wealth of experience has been built up: The Soviet-Syrian crew was already the 12th international crew.

[Shatalov] The 12th crew, yes. But for us, it was the 13th international flight. Much of the groundwork of international training was laid down during the first flight under the "Soyuz"-"Apollo" program. Based on this experience, we were then able, without strain or great reorganization, to begin, one can say, the regular training of international crews at the Zvezdnyy Gorodok space center for flights aboard Soviet spacecraft and orbital stations. When crews were made up of two cosmonauts, the main emphasis in training representatives of foreign states was placed on the duties of the flight engineer. In three-man craft, these duties were reduced. The foreign cosmonaut-researcher is responsible for communications, television, and the normal operation of the *Soyuz* life-support systems.

Their own national research program, prepared jointly with the Soviet side, has been and remains paramount for all of them, of course. But we have familiarized and will continue familiarizing foreign cosmonauts with equipment of the spacecraft and orbital station so that they may approach all processes occuring there in an informed way. We have been told that during training on U.S. space shuttle craft, foreign cosmonauts have no contact at all with this aspect of work. They are only able to operate their own national equipment.

[Konovalov] Nevertheless, the profession of cosmonaut is becoming increasingly widespread. What, in your view, are its main characteristics; what lies at its core?

[Shatalov] In my opinion, an exceptionally high degree of responsibility lies at the core of our profession. The work of thousands of people and large collectives, often from more than one country, depends on the cosmonaut and the reliability of his work. Here he must, without cracking, bear the weight of responsibility and remain straightforward, cheerful, kind, and attentive to those around him. In short, he must be a regular guy whom everyone is happy to work with.